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Tau Cross from the Great Hall at Montfort (PHOTOGRAPH BY A.J. BOAS)

Acre and Its Falls

Studies in the History of a Crusader City

Edited by

John France



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*Dedicated to
Professor Bernard Hamilton*



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Introduction

John France

Acre is a very ancient city, almost certainly dating from the third millennium BC, though its origins are lost in the mists of time. The Amarna Letters of the mid 14th century BC record an 'Akka,' though this cannot certainly be identified with Acre.¹ It is mentioned in the Old Testament as an important place, apparently somewhat on the fringe of Hebrew power and forming part of Phoenicia.² Its name was changed to Ptolemais, probably under Ptolemy Soter of Egypt (305–285).³ It was sometimes called by this name in crusader times: Albert of Aachen, for example, refers to it as 'civitatem Ptolomaidam, quam nunc vocant Acram.'⁴ It was there that Herod laid on a magnificent reception for Augustus in 30 BC, while St Paul passed through the city according to the New Testament.⁵ However, at that time Acre seems to have occupied the nearby Tell rather than the promontory around the harbor. It was not until the Islamic period that it was fortified and became a naval base. By the 11th century it was one of the maritime cities of Palestine nominally controlled by the Fatimid Caliphate of Cairo.⁶ Its importance fundamentally derived from its particular coastal situation. The Palestinian littoral is desperately short of good harbors, but here was a city on a peninsula curving southwards to enclose a sheltered haven. It was by no means ideal, being too small for the biggest ships which had to offload at sea, but it was simply better than anything nearby.⁷

Acre became the biggest city in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and after its recapture from Saladin in 1191, its capital. Its importance is clearly signaled by Sir Stephen Runciman's decision to call the 3rd volume of his *History of the Crusades The Kingdom of Acre*.⁸ It is odd, therefore, that until very recently the

1 J.A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1907–1915), Buraburias II to Amenophis IV, letter No. 2.

2 *Judges* 1: 31 and see B.Becking (1992) *The Fall of Samaria: An Historical and Archaeological Study* (Leiden, 1992), 31–35.

3 G. Hölbl, *History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (London, 2001), 60. Edgington cites 'Bartolf of Nangis' using this name, see below 19, n. 25.

4 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana* ed. S.B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), 670–71.

5 *Jerusalem and Rome. The Writings of Josephus* tr. N.G. Glatzer (London, 1966), 106; Acts 21:7.

6 M. Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae* 5 vols. (Leiden, 1997) 1:24.

7 J. Riley-Smith, (ed.), *The Atlas of the Crusades* (London, 1991), 102 for a useful prospect of the city.

8 S. Runciman, *History of the Crusades* 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1954).

crusader city has not received a great deal of attention from historians. This is especially the case because for the last thirty years the history of the crusades and the Latin East has been a thriving field with an enormous research output. However, the excavations at Acre are now yielding a flood of material by such scholars as Z. Goldman, R. Frankel, D. Jacoby, B.Z. Kedar and E. Stern.⁹ These are fairly specialist works, as is the exceptional collection of essays examining the culture of the Frankish East with particular reference to Acre published in 2004.¹⁰ Accessible synthesis of such findings has begun, notably by Adrian Boas.¹¹ There is one very useful modern general historical survey of Acre, though this is by no means an easy book to find.¹²

In the crusader period Acre was in many ways a remarkable place, but the most striking thing about its history is the number of times it fell to enemies. The initial crusader capture of the city in 1104 has not attracted much attention.¹³ However, we have a very good account of its surrender to Saladin after Hattin in 1187.¹⁴ The great siege of 1189–91 by which the Third Crusade restored Acre to Christian rule is very well known, not least because of the participation of the famous Richard of England, the ‘Lionheart.’¹⁵ This siege is well recorded in contemporary sources, and as a result writers on military history have given it much attention. A notable treatment with an emphasis on technical aspects is that of Randall Rogers. The fall of Acre to the Mamluks of Egypt and Syria in 1291 had an immense impact on medieval Europe and was itself a confused and bloody business. It is very vividly described in a very notable and lively account

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- 9 Only a sample of the work produced follows: Z. Goldman, *Akko in the time of the Crusades. The Convent of the Order of St John* (Akko, 1994); R. Frankel, ‘The North-West Corner of Crusader Acre,’ *IEJ* 37 (1987), 256–61; D. Jacoby, ‘Crusader Acre in the thirteenth century: Urban layout and topography,’ *Studi Medievali* (1970), 1–45; B.Z. Kedar, ‘The outer walls of Frankish Acre,’ *Atiqot* 31 (1997), 157–80; E. Stern, ‘La commanderie de l’Ordre des Hospitaliers à Acre,’ *Bulletin Monumental* 164 (2006), 53–60.
 - 10 D.H. Weiss and L. Mahoney, *France and the Holy Land. Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades* (Baltimore, 2004).
 - 11 A. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: the material; Culture of the Latin East* (London, 1999).
 - 12 Alex Kesten, *Old Acre* (Acre, 1993).
 - 13 William of Tyre, *Historia Rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis* 63A, 2 vols. (Tournhout, 1986) English translation E.A. Babcock and A.C. Krey, *A History of the Deeds done beyond the Sea* 2 vols. (New York, 1943) 2 Book 10: 28 tr. 454–6.
 - 14 For example, P.W. Edbury (ed.), ‘The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre’ in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade* (Aldershot, 1996), 49.
 - 15 There have been numerous biographies, notably J. Gillingham, *Richard Coeur de Lion: Kingship, Chivalry and War in the Twelfth Century* (London, 1994).

by David Nicolle.¹⁶ But Acre was much more than an embattled outpost leaving a bloody trace in historical memory. The present volume is unusual in that it attempts to provide a wide range of aspects of the history of Acre across the crusader period, combining political, military and cultural history, with a notable emphasis on the memory of the city in Europe. This may have been a city famous for its falls, but most certainly not for them alone.

The First Crusade was, as far as European Christians were concerned, a unique religious opportunity. The crusaders who left Europe in 1096 to make their way to Jerusalem had not come for trade, but for salvation. Having fought their way through Anatolia they became enmeshed in the long and bitter siege of Antioch which lasted from October 1097 to June 1098. In early 1098 they seem to have come to an understanding with the Fatimid Caliphate of Cairo based on mutual hostility to the Seljuk Turks.¹⁷ However, the Fatimids seized Jerusalem in the summer of 1098 and when the crusaders approached Tripoli, which lay within their sphere of influence, they refused to concede Jerusalem. Once they had decided to break with the Fatimids of Cairo the priority of the crusaders was to reach Jerusalem, and they were perfectly willing to come to arrangements with the cities of the coast which lay along their route. The rulers of these places were subject to the Fatimids, but felt no obligation to challenge this menacing army; that, they felt, was the business of their rulers in Cairo. The Anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, who certainly went on the crusade and was perhaps a knight, simply notes that the army passed by Acre. However, the Provençal priest, Raymond of Aguilers, equally an eyewitness, says its prince bought them off with promises to surrender the city if the crusaders could hold Jerusalem against the Fatimids, but subsequently incited the ruler of Caesarea to attack them.¹⁸ Thus Acre, which would so dominate the history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, made its entry onto a new stage of history in which it was to achieve an importance and fame which it had never enjoyed before or since. In the course of the crusades the city would suffer 4 major sieges and fall 4 times to enemies. Its final capture, in 1291, was for long regarded as marking the end of the crusading era and indeed there are some who would still support that position.¹⁹ After the sack, Acre, along with

16 R. Rogers, *Latin Siege Warfare in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1997), 212–36; D. Nicolle, *Acre 1291. Bloody Sunset of the Crusader States* (Oxford, 2005).

17 Letter of Stephen of Blois in H. Hagenmeyer (ed.), *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100* (Innsbruck, 1901), 141–52.

18 Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* ed. R. Hill (Edinburgh, 1962), 86–7; Raymond of Aguilers (or d'Agiles), *Le Liber de Raymond d'Aguilers* ed. J.H. Hill and L.L. Hill (Paris, 1969), 134–5.

19 J. Riley-Smith, *What were the Crusades?* (Basingstoke, 2002), xi–xiii.

other cities of the Levantine coast, was deliberately destroyed so that it would never again act as a base for western reconquest of the Holy Land, and it remained ruinous until the 17th century. Acre under the Latin Kingdom had been a great entrepôt and a symbol of Christian power in the East second only to Jerusalem, but for nearly four centuries it was buried in sand and largely forgotten.

Why did a city, whose past was essentially mediocre, assume such importance in the crusading period? Most obviously it was a more sheltered port than any other on the Palestinian littoral. But Jaffa was much closer to the capital at Jerusalem and so were other ports like Arsuf and Caesarea. Perhaps the answer lies in a coincidence of factors. The city gave easy access to Damascus and points further east which were the foci of trade. A Muslim traveller, Ibn Jubayr, noted that even in times of war between the settlers and their Muslim neighbours both sides took pains to ensure that commerce was not hindered.²⁰ This is the fundamental reason why, although Acre was only one of many ports, it climbed to fame with the crusader conquest. The Latin settlements in the Holy Lands at all times depended upon the shipping of the Italian city-states for communication with the homelands of Europe. Acre provided access to the trade that their merchants sought and also all the convenience of living and working in a Christian environment with its familiar institutions. Most particularly merchants wanted legal privileges which enabled them to create autonomous communities. At the same time Acre was near enough to the centre of pilgrimage at Jerusalem to be reasonably convenient. It seems that in the 12th century most pilgrims to the Holy Land arrived at Acre. Their passage money enabled Italian merchants to buy small-volume high-value luxury goods brought along the trade routes from Damascus and points east. In addition, they imported exotica produced in the Holy Lands, notably sugar. The subsequent taxes and port-charges were paid to the authorities of the kingdom. Thus a circle profitable to all was established, to which Acre was essential. The essays which follow probe the remarkable development of this city, its rise, and its many falls.²¹

20 *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, ed. R.J.C. Broadhurst (London, 1952), 300.

21 For the economic importance of Acre and its relations with the Italian city states the extensive work of D. Jacoby is essential reading, and in particular *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 1997), *Commercial Exchange Across the Mediterranean: Byzantium, the Crusader Levant, Egypt and Italy* (Aldershot, 2005) and 'The Economic Function of the Crusader States of the Levant: A New Approach,' in S. Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Europe's Economic Relations with the Islamic World, 13th to 18th centuries* (Florence, 2007), 159–91.

By the time of the First Crusade the city lay within the sphere of influence of the Fatimid Caliphate of Cairo whose influence, despite Seljuk domination of the interior, was maintained along the littoral by the Egyptian fleet. Acre at this time seems to have been strongly fortified and, partly as a consequence and partly because of their eagerness to press on to Jerusalem, the army passed it by. But once the crusaders had become settlers they could not continue to ignore such an important place. As Susan Edgington shows, in the first of our essays, possession of the ports of the littoral was all-important for the settlers to protect themselves against the Fatimids of Egypt who controlled the sea off the Palestinian littoral. At the same time they needed to safeguard their communications with Europe. Baldwin I accordingly attacked Acre unsuccessfully in 1103, failing perhaps partly because of its strong fortifications and because he did not have a fleet to counter Egyptian naval forces which sustained the city. In 1104 Baldwin attacked again and the city capitulated. It is interesting that Baldwin offered generous terms and that a Muslim community remained under the Christian kingdom. This was a consequence of the city's trading links which provided great revenue to the crown. The key factor in Baldwin's success in 1104 was strong naval support. However, historians have been divided by the question of whether the Pisans were present or this was solely a Genoese expedition. Edgington presents a very careful examination of the sources, and convincingly suggests that the Pisans were present, though, she suggests, this was later buried for political reasons.

During the twelfth century Acre grew steadily in importance, although Jerusalem was always the capital and the centre of royal and ecclesiastical government. But despite its importance the city, like almost all the others, was stripped of its garrison to produce the army which was crushingly defeated by Saladin at Hattin 3–4 July 1187. No sooner had Saladin tidied up the battlefield and allowed his army time to rest than he headed for Acre, arriving before its walls on 9 July. Its governor, Joscelin of Courtenay, Seneschal of the Kingdom, was a great magnate who had been closely associated with King Guy. He had escaped from Hattin, but now immediately offered to capitulate when Saladin offered generous terms. The good sense of Saladin's generosity was immediately apparent because:

When the rest of the people heard that Count Joscelin had surrendered the city and had sent the keys to the Saracens, they were all furious and there was almost a major battle between them in the city. They said they would rather burn the town than surrender it to the Saracens, and some people actually started fires in the city.²²

22 Edbury (ed.), 'The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre,' 49.

Saladin then intervened to reassure the citizens, who finally agreed to put out the fires and to accept the capitulation which allowed them to go or stay, as they pleased. Not long after Jerusalem was captured by Saladin.

News of these terrible disasters provoked the Third Crusade. The enormous shock of the disaster after Hattin spread across Europe, reaching Denmark with remarkable speed, as Janus Møller Jensen shows. The impact of the news and the preaching of a new expedition was obviously enormous measured by the scale of the armies which gathered before Acre in 1191. However historians have said little about the Scandinavian participation which Janus Møller Jensen analyses here. Moreover, his discussion of the breadth and depth of the penetration of crusading ideology into northern society has very wide implications for our understanding of the crusading milieu across Europe.

Saladin, for all his triumphs, was frustrated in his attempt to destroy all the remaining Latin footholds in the East. Antioch was too strong for him, while Tripoli was saved by the intervention of a Sicilian fleet. Crucially, Tyre held out, providing a jumping off place for western intervention. Saladin was unable to focus on these strongpoints because of fear of the coming of the army of Frederick Barbarossa which was approaching through Asia Minor, though the emperor's death in June 1190 and the outbreak of plague in his army ended that threat. In the meantime various contingents of crusaders arrived in separate groups in the year following Hattin, and found to their disgust that the native lords were mostly locked up in Tyre and quarrelling over the future of the kingdom. In late August of 1189 King Guy, who had been freed by Saladin, appeared before Tyre, appealed to the new forces encamped around the city, and suddenly marched south with them to besiege Acre. He arrived on 28 August, encamping about a mile away at Turon. Saladin immediately led his army toward the threatened city, but Guy's men, in a well-entrenched camp, could not be dislodged. Saladin was able to establish communications with his garrison in Acre and he started to use his fleet to supply the city. The siege became a stalemate which was only broken by the arrival of the kings of England and France in spring 1191.

The siege of Acre was a long and bloody business, one of the great sieges of the crusades, lasting from 28 August 1189 to 12 July 1191. It was extraordinary in that it was a double siege. The moment that Guy settled down before the city he had to construct fortifications to repel attack from Saladin's army which was trying to break the siege. The consequence of this extraordinary situation was that Saladin was able to threaten Guy's camp whenever a real assault on the city was mounted, and that there were frequent battles in the plain around the city. On 12 November 1190 the crusaders sallied out against Saladin's army in what one historian has described as 'one of the most curious incidents of the

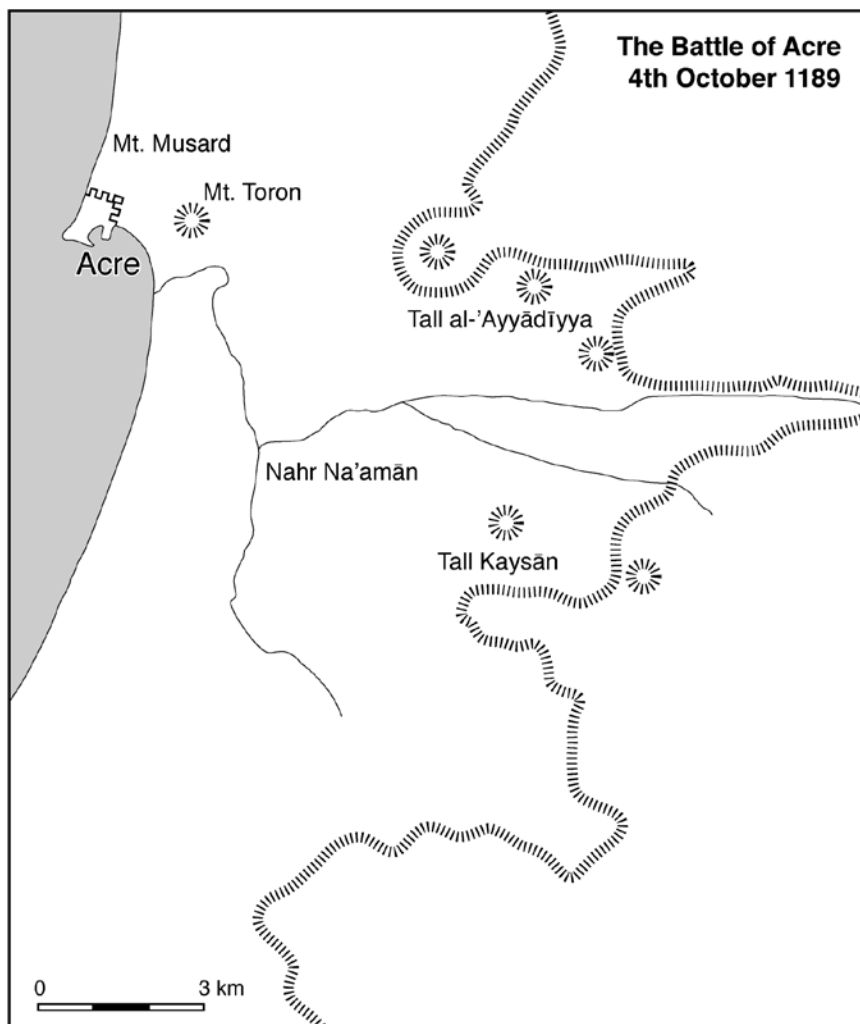


FIGURE 0.1 Map of the Battle of Acre, 4th October 1189

entire siege ... seems to have had no point.²³ John Hosler, who is presently working on a substantial study of the siege of Acre during the Third Crusade, has contributed a penetrating analysis of this movement, suggesting that there

23 John H. Pryor, 'A Medieval Siege of Troy: the Fight to the Death at Acre, 1189–1191 or the Tears of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn,' in G.I. Halfond (ed.), *The Medieval Way of War: Studies in Medieval Military History in Honor of Bernard S. Bachrach*, (Farnham, 2015), 107 [97–115].

were sound reasons for the march and that in some respects it was very well managed.

The failure of the Third Crusade to reconquer the full extent of the former kingdom of Jerusalem left Acre as the most important place in the hands of the Latin settlers and it became the seat of all the major secular and ecclesiastical authorities. In the 13th century the city developed as a great entrepôt for trade between east and west. The written sources make it very evident that the place was dominated by a number of important institutions which by the 1230s had eclipsed the monarchy. The Patriarch of Jerusalem made his home there, and the cathedral of St John was the stronghold of the local bishop, though these were only the most important ecclesiastical institutions. Of perhaps greater practical importance were the strongholds of the military religious Orders of the Temple, Hospital and the Germans, and the 'quarters' of the Italian trading cities. The crusader city was long supposed to be lost under more modern development. However, the Israeli archaeological authorities have undertaken some remarkable work which has produced staggering results. Most spectacularly, they have exposed the Hospitaller headquarters and the area immediately adjacent, largely by digging under the modern city and propping it up.²⁴ The result is one of the most spectacular archaeological sites in the world, and work is still proceeding on unearthing crusader Acre of the 13th century. Adrian Boas is an archaeologist with a wide knowledge of crusader archaeology who was responsible for the excavations at the Teutonic Order's great fortress of Montfort in northern Galilee. In this volume Adrian and Georg Philipp Melloni set out and interpret the results of excavations to discover important buildings of that Order in the city.

The excavations at crusader Acre have revealed the ruins of a remarkable city which was much more than an armed camp to defend merchants. It was a thriving community which embraced Christians of all varieties and even some Muslims. Within its walls there were scriptoria which seem to have been responsible for copying the many variations of the French text of William of Tyre.²⁵ One of its archbishops was the celebrated Jacques de Vitry who was often exasperated by the diversity of faiths in the city and scandalized by the

24 The body of material on crusader Acre is very great, but see especially D. Jacoby, 'Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth century: Urban layout and topography,' *Studi medievali* 3 (1970), 1–45; Z. Goldmann, *Akko in the Time of the Crusades: The Convent of the Order of St. John* (Akko, 1994). For an overview of work in Israel including that on Akko refer to A. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology* (London: 1999).

25 P. Edbury, 'The French translations of William of Tyre's history: the manuscript tradition,' *Crusades* 6 (2007), 69–105, 'New Perspectives on the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre,' *Crusades*, 9 (2010), pp. 107–13.

behaviour of many of its inhabitants.²⁶ We do not usually think of intellectual history in the context of the crusades, so Jonathan Rubin's study of John of Antioch is a truly original study. John of Antioch, he argues, was a remarkable translator who 'held highly original perceptions concerning the status and capacity of the vernacular as well as regarding the concept of vernacular grammar.' We can see that such notions may well have developed in the context of the multi-cultural societies of the Latin states of the east, even as their glory waned in the late 13th century.

The capture of Acre by the Mamluks of Egypt in 1291 has always been seen as a milestone in the history of the crusades. Its fall certainly sent a great shock throughout western Christendom, and provoked a lively discussion about the reasons for its fall, not to mention a bitter dispute, which would endure for centuries. Some people in the West knew of the tensions in Acre in its last years, and the fragmented state of authority. The result of this was that when the Mamluks came in 1291 the city was poorly prepared for a siege and there was no centralized command. But this was the outcome of the best part of 70 years of internal strife and the complete eclipse of the monarchy, a process difficult to grasp. It was much easier to find scapegoats, and high on the list of those regarded as responsible were the military Orders, especially the Temple and the Hospital which had for so long claimed to be the great defenders of the Latin East. Paul Crawford has looked carefully at the 'blame-game' as it was played out at the time, and while he suggests that the Templars were not entirely above self-interest, he thinks that at the last they were the heart and soul of the resistance in the city. Europe as a whole was shocked by the fall of Acre, but this event had profound and immediate effects on what remained of the Latin East.

Cyprus had been seized by Richard the Lionheart at the time of the Third Crusade. It subsequently passed to Guy of Lusignan whose dynasty ruled the island until 1473. It thus became a natural place of settlement for many of the noble families who had lost out as a result of the collapse of the Kingdom of Jerusalem after Hattin. After 1192 the island enjoyed close and intimate relations with the revived kingdom, especially at times when both were ruled by the same Lusignan monarch. Indeed after the fall of Acre in 1291 the Lusignan kings were crowned at Nicosia for Cyprus and at Famagusta for Jerusalem.²⁷ The psychological impact of the fall of Acre was enormous; women on Cyprus dressed in black even after many years in mourning for the loss of Acre and the

26 J. de Donnadiou, *Jacques de Vitry 1175/80–1240 Entre l'Orient et l'Occident : L'évêque aux trois visages* (Turnhout, 2014).

27 P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191–1374* (New York, 1991).

Holy Land.²⁸ Anne Gilmour-Bryson analyses the state of Cyprus in 1291 and demonstrates what a wide spectrum of factors were influenced by the fall of Acre. Most simply, the Frankish population was swollen by an enormous influx of refugees who gradually settled on the island. If at first they needed support, ultimately their presence reinforced the Latin dominion in the island and in the longer run their vigour and connections stimulated the economy. In the immediate aftermath of the fall Cyprus received military and naval aid from the west through fear of Mamluk attacks. However, the island became a major trade centre and a focus for the many plans to recapture Jerusalem, although its political history was always complex and its military efforts hindered from the first by conflict between Genoa and Venice.

Charles W. Connell provides a rather wider view of the reaction to the fall of Acre. He takes issue with the notion of 'public opinion' which so many writers have tossed around in an effort to consider what people's feelings about the crusade were and how they might be mobilized in the direction of recovery of Jerusalem. This is a careful exploration of the very notion of public opinion as revealed to us in contemporary source material. It is particularly important in this context because after the disaster of 1187 crusading reached a climax with major expeditions, the Third, Fourth and Fifth Crusades following in short order, with the Sixth, the Crusade of the Barons and that of Louis IX of France not far behind. By contrast nothing happened after 1291 – or at least not much and certainly not much in comparison. That the crusade continued to be important in the minds of some is not in doubt, and it has been demonstrated beyond doubt that westerners continued to fight in the east in the name of.²⁹ But it is impossible not to note that there were no more great expeditions to Jerusalem comparable to the Third Crusade and all that followed. To account for this historians have resorted to the notion of changes in 'public opinion,' but Connell suggests the existence of many public opinions. This leads him into a discussion of what public opinion might be in the context of the Middle Ages, and he here presents an analysis which is frankly sceptical of the existing simplifications, though giving full credit to the tenaciousness of crusading in the minds of many. Although Connell's purpose here is to discuss reaction to the fall of Acre his methodology could be applied to the way in which medieval (and indeed, perhaps early modern) people reacted to a number of issues.

One of the earliest accounts of the fall of Acre is that of Thadeus of Naples which was probably written at Messina almost immediately after the event.³⁰

28 Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 109.

29 See especially N. Housley, *Later Crusades, 1274–1580: from Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford, 1992).

30 Magister Thadeus Civis Neapolitanus, *Ystoria de Desolatione et Conculcatione Civitatis Aconensis et Tocius Terre Sancte*, in *Excidiu Aconis gestorum collectio; Ystoria de desolatione*

This is a remarkable work whose narrative shows some detailed knowledge of events. There is a touching story of how Nicholas of Hanapes, Patriarch of Jerusalem, tried to save the poor people of Acre at the last minute, but failed to check the overloading of the boat, so that he and all of them perished when it overturned.³¹ Thadeus is much concerned with explaining how the collapse was the result of the sins of Christians. In fact, Iris Shagrir suggests that he often displays more respect for the Muslims who were at least devoted to their religion than for the merchants of the Italian city states on whom he casts very particular blame, along with the leaders of Latin society and the religious military orders. This, in his view, justified the divine judgment and made the more important the call for revenge and the regaining of Jerusalem. These are not, of course, especially original ideas, but Iris Shagrir reveals their vigour which so interested people that this long work survives in a substantial number of medieval manuscripts drawn from a wide geographical range.

The continued popularity of Thadeus of Naples is an indication of the importance for medieval people of the fall of Acre. However, the work of Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie shows the memory of the event changing, yet enduring, over centuries in Genoa, Pisa, and Venice. The Genoese had something to be proud of in this story of disaster because one of their captains, Andrea Pellato, saved many even of the penniless of the city. However, this became inflated as time passed into the story that the Genoese had saved the life of the King of Cyprus, a story Favreau-Lilie connects with Genoese pretensions to power in late medieval Cyprus. The first Pisan account, by an Anonymous author, dates from after 1350, but appears to have good information about the course of the siege and the role of the Pisans.³² It was not well-known, however, and was until recently eclipsed by the rather less good account of Raffaello Roncioni, composed the late 16th century.³³ The Venetians abandoned Acre to its fate as quickly as they could, so it is hardly surprising that Venetian

et conculcatione civitatis Acconensis et totius terre sancte, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM 202 (Tournhout, 2004), 99–164.

31 Ibid., 113, line 350.

32 Only excerpts have ever been published: Anon., *Cronaca Pisana* (xivth century), Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 54. See Pietro Silva, 'Questioni o ricerche di cronistica pisana,' *Archivio Muratoriano. Studi e ricerche in servizio della nuova edizione dei Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, 2, fasc.13 (Città di Castello, 1913), 3–67, at 42–67; Ottavio Banti, 'Studio alla genesi dei testi cronistici pisani del secolo XIV,' *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medioevo* 75 (1963), 259–319.

33 Raffaello Roncioni, *Delle istorie pisane libri XVI bk. 12*, ed. Francesco Bonaini, 1 pt.2, *Archivio storico italiano* 1st ser. 6, pts.1 (1844), at p. 651. On his life (he died in 1618) and family, see Bonaini, *ibid.*, pp. x–xx; Michele Luzzatti, 'Le origini di una famiglia nobile pisana: I Ron-

chronicles for long glossed over the event. This indifference changed after 1453 when Venice was widely condemned for its haste to come to terms with the Ottomans after the fall of Constantinople. Officially commissioned works, like Marcantonio Sabellico's history of Venice up to 1487, praised the city for its steadfastness against the Muslim menace.³⁴ In essence, as Favreau-Lilie suggests, the Italian cities saw no need to record historic truth and were much concerned to defend and praise their own record, no matter how inglorious. It was a strategy, she suggests, which fooled few outside the cities, though it may have contributed to feelings of righteousness amongst the citizens.

For Jacques de Vitry, bishop of Acre (1214–29) Acre was a monstrous place:

I found the city of Acre to be like a monster or the beast with nine heads, each fighting against the others. There were there Jacobites with their archbishop ... and also traitorous Syrians who were deeply corrupted ... I also encountered Nestorians, Georgians and Armenians. As they had no bishops of leaders I could not bring them together.³⁵

For us this may be a portrait of a vigorous place with a diverse population enjoying a lively exchange of cultures and ideas, but the bishop, of course, represented the spirit of the crusade. Elsewhere he castigated the greed and licentiousness of the citizens. No doubt he would have agreed with Thadeus of Naples that the sins of the people more than justified punishment, and, therefore, were the cause of the falls of Acre.

cioni nei secoli XII e XIII,' *Bullettino senese di storia patria* 73–75 = 3. ser. 25–27 (1968), 60–118.

34 For his life and works, see Francesco Tateo, 'Coccio, Marcantonio, detto Marcantonio Sabellico' in *DBI* (see above, n. 6), 26 (Rome, 1982), pp. 510–15; Felix Gilbert, 'Biondo, Sabellico, and the beginnings of Venetian official historiography,' in *Florilegium Historiale* (see above, n. 51), pp. 275–93; Gaetano Cozzi, 'Cultura politica e religione nella pubblica storiografia veneziana nel '500,' *Studi Veneziani* 5/6 (1963/64), 215–94, at pp. 219–22; Foscarini, *Della letteratura veneziana* (see above, n. 57), pp. 250–52.

35 Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres de la Cinquième Croisade* ed. R.B.C. Huygens tr. G. Duchet-Suchaux (Turnhout, 1998), 46–50.

The Capture of Acre, 1104, and the Importance of Sea Power in the Conquest of the Littoral

Susan B. Edgington

When the First Crusade captured Jerusalem in 1099 it had achieved its primary aim and Latin Christians were now in possession of the Holy City. However, there is no evidence that the crusade's instigator, Pope Urban II, or any of the leaders had planned beyond this point: the city of Jerusalem was of enormous religious significance but it was strategically vulnerable, more than a day's journey from the nearest sea harbour at Jaffa, the only coastal town so far in Christian hands. The early weeks after the capture demonstrated this vulnerability: Egypt was able to ship a large army to Ascalon, south-west of Jerusalem, and the exhausted crusaders were obliged to elect a ruler for the new state in a hurry and to march out to meet the enemy. Against overwhelming odds the crusaders were victorious. The new ruler, Godfrey of Bouillon, undoubtedly realised the importance of the coastal towns, both to open them up for reinforcements and pilgrims from western Europe and to prevent their use by enemy fleets as bridgeheads for attack. His brief rule – just short of a year – prevented his achieving a great deal, but his brother Baldwin who succeeded him as King Baldwin I (1100–1118) made the conquest of the littoral a priority. Acre was high on the list of coastal cities because it had a uniquely good harbour, as had been recognised in previous centuries.

It used to be thought that Acre was a developed seaport during Phoenician times, but Alex Kesten, using archaeological and literary sources, argued that the settlement was on the tell (an artificial mound created by previous human occupation), and the peninsula itself was not occupied during the Hellenistic period.¹ The harbour walls were built in the ninth century CE by Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn (868–905), Acre's Egyptian governor. The late-tenth-century historian Al-Muqadassī wrote: "The town of Acre was not fortified until the visit of ibn-Tulun who had seen the town of Tyre and its fortifications and the wall surrounding its harbour. This he wanted to build for [Acre] as it was in Tyre." The author described how his own grandfather had overseen the building of the submarine walls, ending: "The harbour was closed off at night, after the

1 A. Kesten, *Old Acre* (Acre, 1993), 19–25.

ships had been brought in, by a chain drawn across the entrance, as at Tyre.”² Nasr Kursau, a Persian traveller, wrote in 1047:

The town of Acre is sited on an elevation, partly sloping partly level. All along this coast the towns are built on elevations for fear of incursion by the waves ... the sea is on the west and the south. [Also] on the south is the harbour. [...] It resembles a large pen whose rear, closed end abuts the town, with the two side walls projecting into the sea. In the side facing the open sea is the entrance, some 50 cubits wide, with a chain stretched from the end of one wall to the end of the other [...] To admit a ship, the chain is lowered into the sea to a depth that allows the ship to pass over it. Then the chain is again raised so as to prevent stranger vessels from attacking the ships within.³

The south-facing harbour was a feature unique to Acre, and invaluable to shipping on a rocky and west-facing coast. The prevailing winds in winter in the Mediterranean area were (and are) westerly, and medieval accounts of shipwrecks confirm the dangers, with the winds driving the ships onto the shore. Acre was protected from westerlies, but southerly winds presented a danger, as the German pilgrim Theoderic recorded in c.1170: “[T]he port of Ptolemais or the anchorage of the ships is very often difficult or dangerous to enter when the south wind is blowing. In fact the edge of the shore shakes with the frequent beat of the huge waves of the sea violently breaking against each other, and ... the waves wash over the mainland for over a stone’s throw.”⁴ The harbour walls were evidently not a complete protection, but the south-facing harbour was generally Acre’s strength as a port.

The First Crusaders seem not to have recognized Acre’s potential when they first came into contact with the city in the spring of 1099. After leaving Antioch and undertaking a fruitless siege of Arqa they began their march south along the coastal route, which exposed them to fewer dangers than an inland journey to Jerusalem, but entailed passing very close to the maritime cities, mostly ruled by quasi-independent amirs. The terrain did not allow the crusaders much leeway to avoid confrontation. However, according to the *Gesta Francorum*, the key eyewitness source for these events, the crusaders responded to

² Cited in Kesten, 22.

³ Cited in Kesten, 25.

⁴ J. Wilkinson with J. Hill and W.F. Ryan (eds), *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185* (London, 1988), 309–10.

overtures from the amir of Tripoli and made an advantageous treaty with him.⁵ This may have been the point at which they realised that instead of fighting their way south, with consequent losses of men as well as time, they could negotiate supplies and safe-conducts from the coastal towns. Thus they bypassed Batrun and Jubail, and: "Then our knights went on ahead of us, clearing the way, and we reached a city called Beyrut which lies on the coast. Thence we came to Sidon, and so to Tyre, and from Tyre to Acre. From Acre we came to a castle named Haifa."⁶ The same sequence was recounted in the texts derived from the *Gesta*, with only minor variations.⁷ Guibert of Nogent called Acre "once the capital of Palestine," confusing it with Acharon, a mistake about which Fulcher of Chartres was dismissive.⁸ Ralph of Caen, writing a few years later, sums up the situation as it appeared then: "Once they gave up this useless siege [of Arqa], they crossed happily to the gates of the cities of Tripoli, Djubail, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, Acre, Haifa and Caesarea. They boldly demanded great quantities of money and supplies from these places and supplies and money were immediately handed over and paid out. All of these cities, each protected by high towers, blocked the pilgrims' route from north to south along the seacoast."⁹ Only Raymond of Aguilers, an eyewitness at this stage of the crusade, contributes a more elaborate story:

Within a few days we arrived in Acre unhindered and without difficulty. Moreover, the king of Acre, who feared lest his city be besieged, on this account and so that we would go on our way, swore to the count [Raymond] that if we took Jerusalem or if we were in the region of Judaea for twenty days and the king of Babylon did not engage us in battle, or if we defeated the king [of Babylon] he would surrender himself and his city Acre. But meanwhile he would be our friend. After this we departed

5 Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* 9.36, ed. R. Hill (London, 1962), 86–7.

6 Ibid.

7 E.g. Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. J.H. and L.L. Hill (Paris, 1977), 133; Robert the Monk *Historia Iherosolimitana* 8.19, in *RHC Occ* 3, 717–882 at 858; Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* 9.14, ed. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969–1980), 5: 154–5.

8 Guibert of Nogent [GN], *Dei gesta per Francos* 7.1, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *CCCM* 127a (Turnhout, 1996), 269; Fulcher of Chartres [FC], *Historia Hierosolymitana* 1.25.11, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), 274.

9 Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi* 111, *RHC Occ* 3, 587–716 at 683; tr. *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen*, Bernard S. and David S. Bachrach (Aldershot, 2005), 128.

from Acre one day in the evening and pitched camp next to themarshes which are near Caesarea.¹⁰

However, while they were encamped there one of their hawks captured a carrier pigeon carrying a message from this same amir of Acre to the general of the Fatimid garrison at Caesarea, encouraging him to resist the crusaders and instructing him to spread the message to other amirs.¹¹

Albert of Aachen merely says that the crusaders “left Acre on their right on the sea-shore and spent two nights on a river of fresh water which flows into the sea there.”¹² He also recounts the journey northwards of crusaders homeward-bound after the battle of Ascalon. “They [...] retraced their way through those same towns and difficulties of the mountain terrain next to the sea of Palestine by which they had also come to Jerusalem, and there they were granted licence to sell and buy necessary provisions from all the aforementioned towns: Acre, Tyre and Sidon, Tripoli and Beirut, and other towns. Then the people desisted before them from any attack or ambush, and their cities were terrified and trembling because of the destruction of the king of Egypt and the victory which was granted to his faithful people by the living God.”¹³ He later reported that the amirs of Ascalon, Caesarea and Acre agreed to pay monthly tribute to Godfrey, the new ruler of Jerusalem.¹⁴ Although this is not confirmed by any other Latin historian, it seems likely enough, and Fulcher of Chartres conveys a similar picture of Baldwin I’s journey from Edessa to accede to the kingdom in the autumn of 1100: “That day we camped near the city of Beirut. When the amir of this city found out that we were there, he sent boats of food daily to Lord Baldwin, a gesture born more of fear than from love. Those of other cities before which we passed did likewise, such as Tyre and Sidon and also Acre. They feigned friendship but had none at heart.”¹⁵ Albert’s account is similar: “He by-passed Acre, and he encountered no objection or opposition

10 Raymond of Aguilers: *Le “Liber” de Raymond d’Aguilers* 18, ed. John H. and Laurita L. Hill (Paris, 1969), 135.

11 Ibid., 135–6. See also S.B. Edgington, ‘The doves of war: the part played by carrier pigeons in the crusades,’ *Autour de la Première Croisade*, ed. M. Balard (Paris, 1996), 167–75.

12 Albert of Aachen [AA], *Historia Ierosolimitana* 5.41, ed. S.B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), 394–5.

13 AA 6.54, 474–5.

14 AA 7.13, 502–5.

15 FC 2.3.8–9, 365–6; trans. cited Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095–1127*, H.S. Fink and F.R. Ryan (Knoxville, TN, 1969), 142.

from that or from any city, on account of his victory and the renown which they had heard of him.”¹⁶

Thus in the first year of occupation there is no evidence that the crusaders – now settlers – distinguished Acre as more important than the other coastal cities, and Godfrey’s policy towards them seems to have been to negotiate a series of truces while he consolidated his position. This holding operation could not endure much beyond his death in July 1100. At that time Jaffa was in Christian hands and had been rebuilt, and Haifa was about to be captured by Tancred and Geldemar Carpenel.

For the reign of Baldwin I the most important source is Fulcher of Chartres. However, some of the more interesting details are found in Albert of Aachen, Guibert of Nogent, and Ibn al-Qalanisi.¹⁷ It is Albert who signals a change of policy in March 1101:

Messages began to arrive in the king’s palace from all the gentiles’ cities, some in trickery, some in purity, greeting the king with gifts and tribute. For they were seeking to make peace with him so they might travel safely through the land on business without consideration of danger and fear, and cultivate their fields and vineyards without dread. The king, as one who had newly arrived and was lacking much treasure for paying his soldiers, agreed to accept everything offered to him by the gentile cities of Ascalon, Caesarea, Acre and Tyre, but he refused Arsuf and its gifts. On the rest he bestowed peace and security on his own and his men’s behalf until after the end of holy Whitsuntide.¹⁸

Presumably this meant that he intended to begin his campaign to conquer the littoral by attacking Arsuf, the most southerly town and therefore the logical starting point.

However, we should bear in mind that the cities themselves, acting independently, were not the major threat to the nascent kingdom. The real danger was that they could offer bridgeheads for Egypt to land an army, as had already happened at Ascalon. Guibert of Nogent makes explicit reference to this in relation to events of 1101–2: “But the Babylonian prince, concerned not so much with the loss of Jerusalem, but more with the proximity of the Franks who had settled there, set out to harass the new king with frequent assaults, and he often

¹⁶ AA 7.35, 538–9.

¹⁷ Ibn Al-Qalanisi [IQ]: *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades: Extracted and Translated from the Chronicle of Ibn Al-Qalanisi*, ed. H.A.R. Gibb (London, 1932).

¹⁸ AA 7.51, 560–1.

attempted to attack through the port city of Acre. Count Robert of Normandy had besieged Acre while the army of the Lord was hastening to besiege Jerusalem, but Duke Godfrey had withdrawn him, in expectation of a more fruitful undertaking.¹⁹ Even without the confusion introduced by Guibert's English translator, who did not translate *per* and so portrays the Egyptians attacking Acre, this is puzzling, and almost certainly Guibert intended Ascalon rather than 'Accaron.'²⁰ The ensuing battle is one of the battles of Ramla, which strengthens this suspicion. Nonetheless, as long as the coastal cities remained in Muslim hands the danger was real. It is Albert, again, who makes this clear:

Scarcely halfway through this truce, the aforesaid cities sent these messages to the king of Egypt: unless he came to their assistance quickly and drove out the Franks from the kingdom of Jerusalem, they would be forced to give themselves into the hands of the Frankish king, for they could no longer resist the Christians. The king of the Egyptians, indeed, realizing the dire necessity of his cities, sent back to all the citizens and amirs this legation and consolation: that without any delay at all he would gather supplies of weapons and come to the aid of all his cities.²¹

Baldwin first turned his attention to Acre in the spring of 1103 when he mounted an attack. Fulcher of Chartres tells the story succinctly: "In the year 1103, in the spring, after we had celebrated Easter in Jerusalem as was customary, the king advancing with his little army besieged the city of Acre. But because the city was very strong in its wall and outer defenses, the king was not able to take it at that time, especially since the Saracens within defended themselves with most wondrous bravery. After the king had destroyed their crops, orchards, and gardens he returned to Joppa."²² This must surely be the same incident as described by Ibn al-Athir: he dated it a year earlier, but placed it after Bohemond's ransom, which was in 1103: "The Count descended upon Acre [...] and began a close siege. He almost took the place, having set up trebuchets and siege towers. He had sixteen ships at sea. The Muslims from all the coastal regions gathered together, attacked their machines and towers and burnt them. They also burnt the ships. This was a wonderful victory through which God humbled

19 GN 7.44, 344–5

20 GN trans. R. Levine, *The Deeds of God through the Franks* (Woodbridge, 1997), 162.

21 AA 7.52, 560–1.

22 FC 2.22, 456; tr. 174–5.

the infidels.”²³ Albert recounts a five-week siege with much circumstantial and convincing detail, ascribing the Christians’ failure to the arrival of an enemy fleet “from Tyre, and from Sidon, and from Tripoli, towns under Egyptian jurisdiction.”²⁴

At this point there is a new witness, the so-called ‘Bartolf of Nangis.’ It has been usual to dismiss the *Gesta Francorum expugnantium Iherusalem* as no more than an abridgement of Fulcher’s history, but it does have some original material in it, particularly for the first years of Baldwin I’s reign. Here is his account of the siege of Acre 1103:

Then in the following spring, when King Baldwin had celebrated the feast of Easter in Jerusalem, as was his custom, he attacked with a siege the city of Acre, which long ago was called Tholomaida. But because it was strongly fortified by a wall and an outer rampart, and without a fleet he was unable to blockade it on every side, when he had laid waste the crops and the copses and their ploughlands, he returned home, putting off the conquest of the city until he had the fleet of the Genoese and the Pisans, for which he was waiting. Meanwhile he did not cease attacking the territories of his enemies, and conquering them.²⁵

The lesson learnt from this failed attack on Acre was the need for stronger naval support, and a year later when Baldwin launched a second attack he had enlisted an Italian fleet. Accounts of this successful siege of Acre in 1104 are numerous, and in some respects they are surprisingly congruent; in other ways there are striking and significant disagreements. Firstly Ibn al-Qalanisi:

In this month [May 1104] news arrived that Baldwin, king of the Franks and lord of Jerusalem, had made a descent with his army on the fortified port of ‘Akkā both by sea and land, having with him the Genoese vessels which had captured the port of Jubail, over ninety vessels in all. They besieged and blockaded the town on every side and attacked it without intermission, until its commander and garrison were unable to continue to battle with them and its inhabitants were too exhausted to oppose

23 *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-Ta'rikh* AH495, ed. D.S. Richards, 3 vols. (Aldershot, 2006–8), 1:61.

24 AA 9.19, 660–3.

25 Bartolf of Nangis [BN], *Gesta Francorum expugnantium Iherusalem* 61, *RHC Occ* 3, 536 [491–543]. For the relationship of Bartolf of Nangis’ history with that of Fulcher of Chartres, see S.B. Edgington, “The *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium* of ‘Bartolf of Nangis,’” *Crusades* 13 (2014), 21–35.

them, so they captured it forcibly by the sword. The commander of the town, the amīr Zahr al-Dawla Bannā' Juyūshī, had previously quitted it, on account of his inability to defend it and hold off the Franks, and despairing of the arrival of reinforcements or assistance, sent to them asking for quarter for himself and for the townspeople. When the city was captured, he continued his flight until he reached Damascus.²⁶

Compare Fulcher of Chartres:

In the year 1104, after the winter was over and when spring was flowering, we celebrated Easter in Jerusalem. Then King Baldwin gathered his men and proceeding to Acre besieged it again. The Genoese came there with seventy beaked ships. After the Christians had besieged the city with machines and frequent attacks for twenty days, the Saracens were greatly terrified and reluctantly surrendered it to the king. This city was very necessary to us since it contained a port so commodious that a great many ships could be safely berthed within its secure walls. [...] After the city was captured in this way they killed many Saracens but permitted some to live. They took all of their possessions.²⁷

Albert of Aachen, as before, has a much more detailed description of the siege, and he differs from Fulcher in associating the Pisan fleet with the Genoese:

Not long after the capture of Jubayl the Genoese and Pisans received a legation from King Baldwin and they were warmly greeted on his behalf. Then a persuasive prayer was made by the king to everyone, that, for the sake of God and the saints of Jerusalem, they should attack the town of Acre, besieging it with a fleet of ships, while he himself, with God's help and the troops of Christ's faithful, would impose a blockade on land. When they heard this prayer and summons from the king, everyone rejoiced and immediately arrived at Acre, by sea and in a strong army. The king pitched camp on land all around the walls. They were there for some days constructing stone-hurlers and engines, then attacking the city and citizens without restraint, powerfully and unsparingly, fighting everywhere until the Saracens' forces and army were exhausted and dared fight no longer.²⁸

26 IQ AH497, 59.

27 FC 2.25, 462–4; tr. 176.

28 AA 9.27, 670–1.

Albert's inclusion of the Pisans could be dismissed as an error – as Benjamin Kedar has put it, “Albert repeatedly mentions Pisans and Genoese in one breath”²⁹ – were it not supported by the testimony of Bartolf of Nangis. Here is what he says about the 1104 siege of Acre:

After this, once the winter season which was then at hand had calmed down and Easter was drawing near, and a south wind was blowing, a fleet made up of Genoese and Pisans in seventy beaked ships put in at Jaffa, and they were received by the king in a seemly and welcoming fashion. Contracts were then established and agreed to the liking of both sides, and without delay they went to Ptolomaida, that is to Acre, and surrounded it by sea and land: and when they had besieged this city with constant attacks for twenty days, and had erected siege engines next to the walls and were on the point of entering the city, the Saracens who were guarding it were terrified and had no choice, and whether or not they were willing, they surrendered. The Genoese and Pisans and our men were enriched with their spoils. For not even the king was able to stop them, although he strove hard to keep a watch on them, lest the city should be entirely denuded of inhabitants. And when he saw that the Genoese and Pisans had gained the upper hand, he sent his men into the city to take possession of the fortifications and to hold them; and indeed, he became as rich as the others from the booty. Moreover, this city was necessary to the whole Christian population, because in it there is a harbour suitable for ships and usefully closed in between walls, where afterwards ships came in, and they are able at all seasons to shelter calmly from all the whirling of the winds and from storms, and from nocturnal attacks of pirates. Indeed, in all the land of Jerusalem no other such port has been found.³⁰

The sack of the city, not recounted by Fulcher, is confirmed by Albert:

The king and his army were let in; the prince of the town and the rest of the inhabitants came out peacefully with wives and children, with their herds and all their property. Yet the Pisans and the Genoese, seeing them

29 B.Z. Kedar, ‘Genoa’s Golden Inscription in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: A Case for the Defence,’ *I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme: Atti del Colloquio di Gerusalemme, 24–28 maggio 1984*, ed. G. Airal di and B.Z. Kedar (Genoa, 1986), 317–335, at 328.

30 BN 63, 537.

coming out with all their household goods, and carrying out their incredible wealth, were overcome with blind greed, and, forgetful of the trust and the truce which they had made with the king, they suddenly rushed through the middle of the city, killing the citizens, seizing gold, silver, purple of different kinds and many precious things. The people of Gaul, who had entered the city from the land with the king, saw the Pisans running about all over the town, killing citizens, snatching incredible treasures, and they too burnt with the flames of avarice and were likewise forgetful of their oath, and they put about four thousand of the citizens to the sword, snatching treasures, clothing and herds, all the citizens' uncountable riches. When this unlawful discord was finally calmed down, the king was violently angry about the injustice done to him by the Pisans and Genoese on account of the oath, and so, lest they should be thought to have violated the trust and truce as a trick and with his own consent, he told off his comrades and household, and he would have punished this crime severely, had not the lord patriarch intervened and cast himself repeatedly at the king's feet, and placated him with wise advice, and renewed peace and goodwill on both sides.³¹

Thus on the one side, we have substantial agreement between Albert and Bartolf; on the other side Fulcher's account is supported by the Genoese annalist Caffaro, who confirms the participation of his co-citizens:

Hearing all this being said by those who had come back from the expedition, the Genoese who had been in Genoa were moved by religious duty, and so they fitted out forty galleys and went to the Eastern lands. They captured by force the city of Acre along with Jubayl, fighting alongside King Baldwin and Count Raymond. There King Baldwin implemented and confirmed the concession to the Genoese in the eleventh year of the indiction. He gave instructions for a copy of these concessions to be inscribed in letters of gold on a single stone in the tribune of the Sepulchre, and he swore along with twelve senior members of his court to maintain the concessions intact in perpetuity as stated in writing. This was in 1105. The Genoese made an agreement with King Baldwin that they would have one street of Acre next to the sea and one garden as representing a third of the city, and receive six hundred besants annually. In addition they would have a third of the land outside the walls up to a distance of one league. They appointed a viscount, Sigebaldo, a canon of San Lorenzo,

31 AA 9.28–9, 672–5.

who held the concessions and kept them in good order as was laid down in the grant of concession. With this all completed, the Genoese went home in triumph.³²

The Golden Inscription has been the subject of some heated debate, stretching over twenty years, between Hans Eberhard Mayer and Marie-Luise Favreau on the one side, arguing that the whole thing is a Genoese invention, and Kedar on the other, defending the Genoese position.³³ Kedar launched another volley in 2004, but Favreau remains to be convinced.³⁴ It does seem likely that there was an agreement between Baldwin I and the Genoese, and it was recorded within the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

So what of the Pisans? There is no charter evidence for Pisa, and there is no documentary evidence of a Pisan quarter in Acre before the 1180s. Should we therefore dismiss the testimony that includes the Pisans? There is a disparity between Caffaro's forty ships and the seventy or ninety of Fulcher and Ibn al-Qalanisi which would be explained if Pisan ships were there too. We know that Pisans were in Outremer, including the fleet that brought Archbishop Daibert of Pisa who was to become patriarch of Jerusalem. They were involved in other naval campaigns, including Latakia earlier and Beirut later. Crucially, Pisa had no Caffaro to compose his city's annals. The nearest is Bernardo Marangone, a generation younger (1104–75). He started writing in the 1130s, so did not have Caffaro's firsthand experience, but the events of the First Crusade were still well within living memory. This is his Latin text, followed by an English translation:

AD MXCVIII. Populus Pisanus, iussu domini Pape Urbani II, in navibus cxx ad liberandam Ierusalem de manibus paganorum profectus est. Quorum rector et ductor Daibertus Pisane urbis archiepiscopus extitit, qui postea Ierosolima factus Patriarcha remansit. Proficiscendo vero Lu'catam et Cefaloniam, urbes fortissimas, expugnantes expoliaverunt,

32 Caffaro, *De liberatio civitatum Orientis liber*, ed. L. Belgrano, *Annali Genovesi*, vol. 1 (1890), 99–124 at 121–2; tr. M. Hall.

33 H.E. Mayer and M.-L. Favreau, 'Das Diplom Balduins I. für Genua und Genuas Goldene Inschrift in der Grabeskirche,' *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 55/56 (1976), 22–95.

34 B.Z. Kedar, 'Again: Genoa's Golden Inscription and King Baldwin I's Privilege of 1104,' *Che-mins d'outre-mer: Études d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard* (Paris, 2004), 495–502; M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, s.v. 'Genoa,' *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia*, ed. A.V. Murray, 4 vols. (Santa Barbara, CA, 2006), 2:501–6, at 504–5; full bibliography of the dispute: *ibid.*, 505–6.

quoniam Ierosimitanum iter impedire consueverunt. In eodem autem itinere Pisanus populus Maidam, urbem fortissimam, cepit, et Laudociam cum Boemundo et Gibellum cum ipso et Raimundo comite Sancti Egidii obsedit.³⁵

1099. The Pisan people, at the command of the lord pope Urban II, set out in 120 ships to liberate Jerusalem from the hands of the pagans. Their ruler and leader was Daibert archbishop of the city of Pisa, who afterwards was made patriarch of Jerusalem and stayed on. On their journey they attacked Lucata and Cefalonia, very strong cities, and plundered them, because they used to hinder the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Moreover, on that same journey the Pisan people captured Maida, a very strong city, and besieged Latakia with Bohemond, and Jubail with him and Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles.

Two things are notable: firstly, although the entry is under the date 1099, it is actually the whole story of Pisan involvement in the First Crusade, including the sieges of Latakia (1099) and Jubail (1104). In the Pisan memory, at least, the commune's fleet was involved in all these engagements. Support for this comes, unexpectedly, from the displacement of the parallel passage in the *Alexiad* of Anne Komnene to events of 1104:

When the Franks set out for Jerusalem with the intention of conquering the towns of Syria, they made fine promises to the bishop of Pisa, if he would help them to attain their goal. He was convinced by their arguments and incited two of his colleagues living by the sea to the same course of action. There was no delay. He equipped biremes, triremes, warships and other fast vessels to the number of 900, and set off for Syria. A fairly strong squadron of this fleet was sent to ravage Corfu, Leukas, Kephallenia and Zakynthos. [Alexios then raised a fleet and defeated the Italians.]³⁶

Craig Fisher, writing on the Pisan annalists, observes that, "Anna Comnena placed the battle [between the Byzantines and the Pisans] some four years later than it should be."³⁷ Peter Frankopan, in his note to this episode in the

35 *Muratori Rerum Italicarum SS*, 6.2 (1936), 7.

36 Anne Komnene [AK], *The Alexiad* 11.10, ed. E.R.A. Sewter, rev. P. Frankopan (2nd edn, London, 2009), 323–4.

37 C.B. Fisher, 'The Pisan clergy and an awakening of historical interest in a medieval commune,' *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 3 (1966), 143–219, at 158, n.51.

new edition of Anna Komnene also finds it odd that in 1104, “Anna now returns to the dispatch of the Pisan fleet in 1099.”³⁸ That is, Anna, like the Pisan chronicler, confuses or conflates events of 1099 and 1104. Or, just possibly, there was a second battle between the imperial navy and the Pisans in 1104.

The second detail of Marangone’s entry refers to the mysterious city of Maida. Fisher says of this: “The Pisan chronicler also mentioned a third city, Maida, which cannot be identified, but perhaps it was on Cyprus for Anna Comnena claimed that the Pisan fleet – after its defeat and escape – tried to attack Cyprus but was driven off by the Byzantine governor of that island.”³⁹ However, since it is listed in the same sentence as Latakia and Jubail, it seems self-evident that this is Ptolomaida, also known as Acre, a powerful city captured in the same year as the siege of Jubail. Without consulting the manuscripts, the reason that the city’s name was truncated cannot be established.

Given Marangone’s testimony, along with the independent accounts of Bartolf of Nangis and Albert of Aachen, it is very probable that a Pisan fleet did assist in the 1104 siege of Acre. Marangone implies that it was the official fleet sent by the commune in 1099, but Favreau is adamant “that some merchants, shipowners and sailors from Pisa who with their ships were present in the crusader kingdom at that time (1104) might have participated in the sea blockade on their own. At that time there was no fleet manned and sent off to Syria by Pisa’s government.”⁴⁰ This seems to be an argument from absence of evidence, and merits further consideration. Meanwhile, if we accept the presence of Pisan ships it raises further questions: why are they absent from Caffaro, and why from Fulcher?

The extract from Caffaro quoted earlier was from his *De liberatione civitatum orientis*. This expanded on his entries in the *Annals*, and Luigi Belgrano argued convincingly that it was a work composed in 1155 as ‘a kind of legal brief’ to be presented by the Genoese legate to Pope Hadrian IV to support Genoa’s complaints about the violation of its rights and privileges by the Latin rulers in Syria.⁴¹ It therefore was a polemical document, and there was no advantage in giving the Pisans any credit for their part in the capture of Acre. Furthermore, as Richard Face has pointed out, “The whole of the twelfth century was a period of intense conflict between Genoa and Pisa.”⁴² Caffaro had

38 AK, 518, n. 36.

39 Fisher, 158.

40 Pers. comm. (email) 31 August 2010.

41 Belgrano (1890), xcii–xcviii; R.D. Face, ‘Secular history in twelfth-century Genoa,’ *Journal of Medieval History* 6 (1980), 172 [169–83].

42 Face, 174.

himself commanded a Genoese flotilla against Pisa in 1125. Face also noted that Caffaro was quite capable of passing over in silence events that were painful to Genoa's pride.⁴³ This would explain why he also suppressed the sack of Acre that is described by Albert and Bartolf.

Interestingly, though, a charter granted by Baldwin to the Genoese in 1104, and preserved in the archives, provides a hint that Caffaro was not telling the whole story. It contains the sentence, "You will pay no *comercium* in the whole territory which I control or am successful in acquiring, nor will the men from Savona, Noli, or Albenga, or from the house of Gandolfo the Pisan, son of [Fiopa]."⁴⁴ This may support Favreau's argument that Pisans participated in the siege only as individuals. At this point we should look at what William of Tyre has on the siege. Much of it is derived from Fulcher, but William also had access to Jerusalem archives:

1104: [I]n the month of May, Baldwin mustered the entire strength of his people, from the least even unto the greatest, and hastened to Acre to lay siege to that city a second time. He had seized the opportunity as most auspicious, because just at that time a fleet from Genoa of seventy beaked ships called galleys had arrived at the land of Syria. [...] Through the able work of shrewd and diplomatic mediators who exerted themselves nobly to effect the negotiation, an agreement with these people was reached. On condition that they should be given in perpetuity a third part of the returns and revenues collected at the port of Acre from sea-borne imports and in addition be granted a church in the city and full jurisdiction over one street, the Genoese consented to lend loyal aid in taking the afore-said city. These terms proved acceptable to the king and his chief men; the agreement was confirmed by an exchange of oaths and committed to writing to be preserved for ever under the form of a charter. On the day set, the Genoese blockaded Acre by sea [...] the city was finally surrendered to the king. The stipulations imposed were that those who wished to leave should be permitted to depart freely wherever they would, taking with them their wives and children and all their movable possessions. Those who chose to remain in their homes, however, and not to desert their native soil might enjoy favourable conditions by payment of a fixed sum annually to the king. As soon as the city was won, the king assigned possessions and domiciles to the Genoese according to the services

43 Face, 176.

44 *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, ed. A. Rovere (Rome, 1992), vol. 1/1, no. 61, 99–102 (tr. M. Hall).

rendered by each man. Thus, for the first time, a safe and commodious anchorage was gained, and the shore freed, to some extent at least, from the attacks of the foe.⁴⁵

The above is the translation by Emily Babcock and August Krey, and Kedar has pointed out that they used the *Recueil* edition of William of Tyre, and that if we consult Robert Huygens' more recent edition, then we find the last paragraph has suffered a homoeoteleuthon: for the *Recueil's* "Qua obtenta, Januensibus, iuxta singulorum merita, possessiones et domicilia assignavit"⁴⁶ Huygens has: "Qua obtenta, Januensibus, iuxta tenorem pactorum parte, que eos de iure contingebat, resignata, reliquum victori populo rex, iuxta prudentum consilium virorum distributis iuxta singulorum merita possessionibus et domiciliis assignavit."⁴⁷ [Once the city was won, a part was assigned to the Genoese, in accordance with the wording of the agreements, and the king assigned the rest to the victorious people, with possessions and houses distributed according to the merits of individuals, following the advice of prudent men.] Gandolfo the Pisan thereby becomes one of the meritorious individuals.

Although Fulcher of Chartres was William of Tyre's principal source for these years, he was drawing on the final text that contains events to 1127. In fact Fulcher appears to have written his *Historia Hierosolymitana* in three stages and undertook substantial revision at each stage. The first was finished in 1106, or a little later. He started writing again in 1109 or 10 and took the narrative forward to about 1115. Then he added book 3 after Baldwin I's death in 1118.⁴⁸ There are two groups of extant manuscripts: the first group ends in 1124. Then Fulcher evidently revised the whole text, and manuscripts of the second extant version, which continues to 1127, contain modifications, some slight and some more significant. For the present argument there are two points to draw from this: one is that Fulcher is known to have revised his work, and the second is that we have no manuscripts of the first stage of composition, finished in 1106. We do, however, have three witnesses to its circulation around 1107–9. One is Guibert of Nogent, who came across it when he was writing book 7 of the *Dei gesta*.⁴⁹ The second is the so-called MS L, which has additional information in

45 William of Tyre [WT], *Chronicon* 10.27(28), ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *CCCM* 63 (Turnhout, 1986), 486–7; trans. E.A. Babcock and A.C. Krey, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* (New York, 1943), 454–6.

46 *RHC Occ* 1, 443.

47 WT, 487.

48 FC, ed. and trans. Fink and Ryan, Introduction, 19–24.

49 GN 7.32, 329.

book 2, including a detailed description of the Holy Fire episode of 1101 (also in Guibert).⁵⁰ The third is Bartolf of Nangis. It may be argued strongly that Bartolf followed his exemplar much more closely than has been assumed, and that chapters 61 and 63, quoted above, are accurate records of events at Acre as originally recorded by Fulcher, and that Fulcher suppressed references to the Pisans at some point in the 1110s or 20s.

If he did this, then his reasons lay in the alliance formed, no later than 1109, between the Pisans and Alexius Comnenus. On 18 April 1110, the Pisans took an oath of fealty to the Byzantine emperor.⁵¹ In return Alexius issued a Chrysobull with trading privileges which granted yearly payments, the protection of the law, and a privileged position in the eastern empire.⁵² Ralph-Johannes Lilie explained the treaty thus: “the sense and purpose of the treaty [was] the participation of Pisa, or at least its indirect support, in the conquest of Syria and Palestine by the Byzantine Empire.”⁵³ The anti-crusader tendency of the treaty is clear from the wording, by which the Pisans swore to defend the emperor’s interests “usque in Alexandriam” [as far as Alexandria], a city that had been in Arab hands since the seventh century. This would include the crusader states. Why did Pisa favour this treaty? Evidently there were great commercial advantages in having access to Byzantine markets. Notably the treaty contained a clause by which Byzantium undertook not to hinder the Pisans from carrying pilgrims and crusaders, with their weapons, to the Holy Land, providing their passengers swore not to act against the interests of the emperor there. At the same time, the Pisans had had a difficult relationship with the kingdom of Jerusalem since the dispute between Baldwin I and Patriarch Daibert in the early 1100s. The ever increasing hostility between Pisa and Genoa meant that the Byzantines had to choose between them, and the Genoese were already more entrenched in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

From my examination of the sources I conclude that Baldwin’s capture of Acre in 1104 succeeded because of the participation of both Genoese and Pisan fleets. The earliest accounts of the siege agree that Pisans were involved; they were edited out of the picture by the two chroniclers who (paradoxically) were in a position to present the most accurate accounts, Caffaro and Fulcher, but both were writing later and both had political motives for omitting the Pisans. For the same reasons they also passed over the looting of the city by the Italians, which was in clear contravention of the terms of surrender. The privileges

50 Footnoted as variants to the edition of FC in *RHC Occ* 3, 321–418; GN 7.41, 340–1.

51 R.J. Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States 1096–1204* (Oxford, 1993), 88 n.110 [87–90].

52 Oct 1111: Lilie, 88, n. 111.

53 Lilie, 88.

extracted by the Genoese for their naval support – they contributed the majority of ships and were careful to reach an agreement before committing themselves to the siege – reflect Baldwin's absolute dependence on commanding a fleet to close the blockade of the maritime cities. In the absence of charter evidence it is difficult to know when the Pisans did establish themselves in Acre. The earliest documentary evidence is from the 1180s, but Michael Matzke has pointed out that the terms of the privileges of 1187–9 imply a substantial population of Pisans were already resident in the town.⁵⁴ It has been argued that the location of the Pisan quarter, far from the city gate, reflects their later arrival.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the quarter is advantageously close to the harbour.

When Acre was captured in 1104 it was but one of the coastal cities which needed to be taken for the sake of the security of the infant kingdom of Jerusalem. When Baldwin I died in 1118 only two remained in Muslim hands: Tyre, which was taken in 1124, and Ascalon which was to be a thorn in the kingdom's side until 1153. Baldwin spent much of his reign attempting to complete his conquest of the littoral, and it is clear from the narrative accounts that Acre's importance as an anchorage was early recognized and it became his military headquarters and naval base for this campaign. However, diplomatic evidence shows that Jerusalem remained the administrative capital of the kingdom until the 1180s: there are no extant charters issued at Acre. On the other hand, we have pilgrim accounts which confirm that Acre became the usual disembarkation point for people arriving in Outremer, and that is perhaps sufficient to explain the way it became the focus of the Third Crusade.

54 Michael Matzke, s.v. 'Pisa,' *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia*, vol. 3, 964–6 at 965.

55 Kesten, 59–60. See also Michael Ehrlich, 'Urban landscape development in twelfth-century Acre,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, s.3, 18 (2008), 257–74.

Clausewitz's Wounded Lion: a Fighting Retreat at the Siege of Acre, November 1190

John D. Hosler

Defeat in battle is a possibility in any war, but it need not mean the destruction of an entire army if the surviving remainder can effectively withdraw to fight another day. As Carl von Clausewitz writes in his classic work *Vom Kriege* (*On War*), a proper retreat is imperative to the reestablishment of one's power, or what he called the "moment of equilibrium." Such a retreat must be careful, deliberate, and calm. He writes:

In order to utilize any weakness or mistake on the part of the enemy, not giving an inch more ground than the force of circumstances requires, and especially in order to keep morale as high as possible, it is absolutely necessary to make a slow fighting retreat, boldly confronting the pursuer whenever he tries to make too much of his advantage. The retreats of great commanders and experienced armies are always like the retreat of a wounded lion, and this unquestionably is theoretically preferable as well.¹

The image of the wounded lion is singularly evocative: a beast that is harmed but still lethal because its claws, fangs, and cunning remain intact, and its strength – though largely expended – can return in time. In a military context, warriors surviving combat are comparative.² However, military history demonstrates time and again that defeat in battle often results not in a fighting retreat and return to equilibrium but rather a rout, in which men turn their backs to the line and place their hopes in speed of flight, not their own arms and abilities. The result is a voluntary disintegration of the army. King Stephen's defeat at the Battle of Lincoln in 1141 exemplifies this issue in a medieval context; as

¹ Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. and trans. M. Howard and P. Paret (Princeton, 1976), 4.13.

² Edward Luttwak points to a similar image in Jordanes' sixth-century *Getica*: "He [Attila the Hun] was like a lion pierced by hunting spears, who paces to and fro before the mouth of his den and dares not spring, but ceases not to terrify the neighborhood by his roaring"; see *The Gothic History of Jordanes*, ed. C.C. Mierow (Reprint, 2006), XL; and E.N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, 2009), 44.

William of Malmesbury succinctly notes, in the face of Earl Robert of Gloucester's army "charging with their banners in the van, [were] breaking through the king's line, then all the earls to a man sought safety in flight."³ To counter such human instincts, for Clausewitz the role of the commander is crucial: he must make contingency plans in case of defeat and demonstrate his own courage and leadership in order to counter the instinct of fast flight. Of course, at Lincoln Stephen himself was captured and could hardly lead such a withdrawal, and such is the fortune of war.

From the March of the 10,000 out of Persia in 399 BC to the Allied evacuations at Dunkirk in 1940, the spectacle of armies fighting their way to safety in the wake of disaster is a fixture of Western military history, and the Middle Ages are no exception. This essay will examine one particularly well-described but understudied fighting retreat in the period. From 12–15 November 1190, a portion of the army besieging Acre during the Third Crusade broke away from its camp and marched against the Muslim armies succoring the city, in search of food and blood. After first being lured into an empty Muslim camp east of Acre, the crusaders marched south towards Haifa and engaged the advance guard of the sultan of Egypt and Syria, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin). Defeated and demoralized, the crusaders moved back north in a two-day retreat along the River Belus that took a large toll on their numbers. Nonetheless, their retreat was successful in that the survivors were able to rejoin their fellows outside Acre; nine months later, that city would fall to the besieging western forces.

In this essay, I will argue that the crusaders at Acre epitomized the wounded lion image proffered by Clausewitz by conducting a textbook fighting retreat. The goal here is not to "prove" or "disprove" the strategic wisdom of *On War*; rather, it is to illustrate how medieval armies could operate in sophisticated fashion and employ strategies that accord well with modern intellectual principles of warfare. Using Clausewitz as a guide is a convenient means of doing so.⁴ Accordingly, I will proceed by narrating the phases of the crusader march and showing how, in sequence and strategy, the army mimicked the steps that would appear in *On War* six-and-a-half centuries later.

3 *The Historia Novella of William of Malmesbury*, trans. K.R. Potter (London and Edinburgh, 1955), 49: "et infestis uiribus uexillisque aciem regalem perrumperent, fuga sibi omnes ad unum comites consulere."

4 Others have used a similar method to study fighting retreats; for example, G.A.B. Dewar, *Sir Douglas Haig's Command: December 19, 1915 to November 11, 1918*, 2 vols. (London, 1922), 1.32, in reference to the British Fifth Army at the Battle of the Somme; and K.M. Brown, *Retreat from Gettysburg: Lee, Logistics, and the Pennsylvania Campaign* (Chapel Hill, 2005), throughout but 68–69 explicates Clausewitz's terms in a similar fashion as I do here.

Clausewitz outlines the various components of the fighting retreat as well as the philosophy behind them in *On War* book four, chapter thirteen, and elements contributing to it are also scattered throughout books six and seven. His central maxim states: “it must be a general principle not to let the enemy impose his will.”⁵ Almost like a chess match, the retreating commander must act in ways that condition and limit his opponent’s initiative. The beginning component is therefore related to pace. Clausewitz observes that the pursuit of beaten foes begins as soon as they abandon their position.⁶ Correspondingly, that is the first moment of retreat as well, and it should involve short first movements away from the battle site that are deliberate and intended to prevent a rout, the latter of which Sir Arthur Conan Doyle called “the sprint of a hunted deer.”⁷ Second, these movements should be well-defended by a rearguard containing a commander’s best troops and via savvy use of terrain that inhibits enemy ingress and protects the column. Third, there must be attacks upon the pursuing foe, but only when both the terrain permits it and ambitious pursuers have moved too close to the strong rearguard. To this end, the “defender” (in this case, the retreating general defending himself against pursuit) “must keep the enemy under observation, and be able to fling himself upon him within his own immediate area.”⁸ This means staying in close proximity to one’s pursuer, which can seem counterintuitive to soldiers spooked into flight. Finally, all of the above is dependent upon a courageous leader who is patient and willing to commit forces (and possibly incur fresh casualties) by re-engaging the enemy, as opposed to one who seeks only to escape the scene quickly. And as much as possible, the retreat should be deliberate: “In short, it consists of planning and initiating regular small-scale engagements.”⁹

Practically speaking, then, the retreating commander must set the terms, dictate the pace, and control both the frequency and intensity of the engagements while fighting from a changing, defensive posture. Not an easy task, to be sure, especially in the wake of a disastrous previous engagement and with a depleted and demoralized army at one’s disposal. For Clausewitz observes, “A lost battle always tends to have an enfeebling, disintegrating effect,” which has three sequential elements: a strong psychological impact that leads to further

5 *On War*, 4.13. This essay has made use of the concordance by Jon Sumida, ‘On Indexing *On War*,’ <<http://www.clausewitz.com/bibl/Sumida-ConcordanceToOnWar.pdf>>, accessed July 16, 2015.

6 *On War*, 4.12.

7 *On War*, 4.13; A.C. Doyle, *A History of the Great War*, 6 vols. (New York, 1920), 5.157.

8 *On War*, 4.13; 6.12.

9 *On War*, 4.13.

material losses that, in turn, decrease morale. Continued armed resistance to pursuers becomes more difficult due to "battle casualties, loss of order and of courage, and anxiety about the retreat."¹⁰ As with many of his maxims, this knowledge was borne from experience, for Clausewitz himself led the Prussian rearguard during a fighting retreat from the Battle of Jena-Auerstädt on 14 October 1806.¹¹

All of the aforementioned criteria for a fighting retreat were on display in the crusader expedition of November 1190, which was but one of dozens of major engagements during the Siege of Acre. In full, the siege was a two-year affair, making it one of the longest Western sieges of the Middle Ages and the centerpiece of the grand expedition to the East.¹² It began in August 1189 when King Guy de Lusignan, the titular king of Jerusalem, marched south from Tyre to invest the city, and it ended in August 1191 after forces under kings Philip Augustus and Richard the Lionheart breached Acre's walls and accepted the garrison's surrender. Over the course of the siege, the crusaders experienced a series of defeats, famines, diseases, and outright disasters. In the fall of 1189, Saladin broke the crusaders' initial blockade of the city on both the land and seaward side, thus allowing periodic reinforcement and resupply. He also encircled the crusading camp itself, which enabled tandem attacks against it from both his army and the Acre garrison. Near the end of the year, the crusaders constructed a circuit of ramparts and ditches between them and Saladin's army, a solid defense that he was never able to penetrate.¹³ Even so, the following year, 1190, saw more setbacks for the besiegers: as Muslim reinforcements poured in from Egypt and Syria, the crusaders saw their siege towers and trebuchets destroyed by Greek Fire in May and August, respectively; they lost a

¹⁰ *On War*, 4.13; 4.10; and 6.25.

¹¹ T. Waldman, *War, Clausewitz and the Trinity* (Farnham, 2013), 4; Peter Paret, 'Clausewitz,' in *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*, ed. P. Paret, G.A. Craig, and F. Gilbert (Princeton, 1986), 191.

¹² The author is currently writing what will be the first full, book-length study of the siege: *The Siege of Acre, 1189–1191* (New Haven, forthcoming). Recommended treatments at present that sufficiently cover military details include: J.H. Pryor, 'A Medieval Siege of Troy: the Fight to the Death at Acre, 1189–1191 or the Tears of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn,' in *The Medieval Way of War: Studies in Medieval Military History in Honor of Bernard S. Bachrach*, ed. G.I. Halfond (Farnham, 2015), 97–115; M.C. Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin: the Politics of the Holy War* (Reprint: Cambridge, 2001), 295–330; C. Tyerman, *God's War: a New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, 2006), 402–46; R. Rogers, *Latin Siege Warfare in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1992), 214–35; and, for the year 1191, J. Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven, 1994), 155–71.

¹³ Pryor, 'Fight to the Death at Acre,' 115.

major counter-offensive against Saladin in July; and they were unable to prevent resupply of the city by sea in a series of failed naval encounters with Muslim ships.¹⁴ In October, renewed attacks against Acre failed and the crusaders began to run out of food. The expedition of early November 1190 must be read in this context: over a year of great expense, loss, and frustration, with no apparent victory in sight for the crusading forces.

We are well-informed about the course and conduct of the expedition itself. Within the large array of primary sources for the Third Crusade, those treating the expedition are seven in number and represent a diverse selection of authorship and proximities. The Arabic accounts are those of Bahā al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, ‘Imād ad-Dīn al-Isfahānī, and Ali ‘Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī.¹⁵ The latter, Ibn al-Athīr for short, was an historian from Mosul who, while contemporary, was not present for the action and never served in Saladin’s court; he has also been accused of having an anti-Saladin bias.¹⁶ The others, Ibn Shaddād and ‘Imād ad-Dīn, were eyewitnesses who personally attended Saladin that year, the first as his judge (*qāḍī*) and the second as his private secretary (*kātib*).¹⁷ Their accounts are less histories than heroic biographies that tend toward outright panegyric in places. Much of ‘Imād ad-Dīn’s writing is not extant, which necessitates use of those passages excerpted from his works by the later compiler Shihāb ad-Dīn Abu l’Qasim Abu Shāma (d. 1267) in *The Book of the Two Gardens*.¹⁸ Four western authors provide a counterbalance to the Arabic accounts. The briefest is Roger of Howden, who mentions only the departure of the army in his two principal works, *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*

14 A summation of the mechanical attacks on Acre can be found in P. Purton, *A History of the Early Medieval Siege, c. 450–1200* (Woodbridge, 2009), 304–305.

15 *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Mail fi’l-Ta’rikh* [hereafter Ibn al-Athīr], trans. D.S. Richards, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 3 vols. (Reprint, 2010), 2.378–9; *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin by Bahā’ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād* [hereafter Ibn Shaddād], trans. D.S. Richards, *Crusade Texts in Translation* (Farnham, 2002); ‘Les livres des deux jardins: histoire des deux règnes, celui de Nour Ed-Dīn et celui de Salah Ed Dīn’ [hereafter ‘Imād ad-Dīn], in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, historiens Orientaux*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1898).

16 H.A.R. Gibb, ‘The Arabic Sources for the Life of Saladin,’ *Speculum* 25 (1950), 58–72. Short defenses of al-Athīr include Richard’s introductions in Ibn al-Athīr, 1.2–5 and 2.3–4; Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (Reprint, Berkeley, 1984), xxvii–xxviii; and Lyons and Jackson, *Politics of the Holy War*, 1 n. 3.

17 H.A.R. Gibb, *The Life of Saladin: from the Works of ‘Imād ad-Dīn and Bahā ad-Dīn* (Oxford, 1973), 1–2.

18 Gibb, ‘Arabic Sources,’ 59–60. Gibb’s historiographic analysis is quite argumentative; for a balanced overview of all three Muslim writers, see C. Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (New York, 2000), 180–82.

and the later *Chronica*.¹⁹ The Anglo-Norman verse chronicle of the jongleur Ambroise is longer; both he and Roger of Howden were eyewitnesses and participants on the Third Crusade.²⁰ Third, there is the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* of Richard de Templo, which, though the longest of the western accounts, is a later compilation of an earlier version of the *Itinerarium*, excerpts from Ambroise and others, and perhaps Richard's own experiences in the East.²¹ Finally, we have a poem written by one "Monachus," an anonymous witness (perhaps Italian) who arrived at Acre in 1189. It is brief and, because of its later date (early to mid-thirteenth century) and uncertain authorship, its accuracy is up for debate.²² In all, the near-even split between "Frankish" and "Saracen" sources enables a balancing of perspectives and biases and aids historical interpretation via the fact-checking of each side's version of events.

On Monday 12 November 1190 [11 Shawwāl 586], the day after the feast of St Martin of Tours, a portion of the crusading host mustered outside of its protective ramparts with the intent to engage Saladin's army.²³ John Pryor has remarked that the resulting campaign, "one of the most curious incidents of the entire siege ... seems to have had no point."²⁴ A closer look at the documents, however, suggests a number of motivations. The western sources offer four reasons for the move: exasperation with the length and inconclusive state of the siege; intent to whittle down Saladin's army in order to relieve pressure on the besiegers and speed their efforts; financial considerations for maintaining the siege; and a severe shortage of food.²⁵ Ibn Shaddād particularly corroborates the food issue, noting that a *ghirar* of wheat had reached the

- 19 *Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis* [hereafter *Gesta*], ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (London: Rolls Series, 1867); *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene* [hereafter *Chronica*], ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols. (London: R.S., 1868–1871), 3:73.
- 20 *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* [hereafter Ambroise], ed. and trans. M. Ailes and M. Barber, 2 vols. (Reprint, Woodbridge, 2011). On Roger, see J. Gillingham, 'Roger of Howden on Crusade,' in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic World*, ed. P.M. Holt (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1982), 60–75.
- 21 'Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi,' in *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (London: R. S., 1864–1865); in English, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade: the Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, trans. H.J. Nicholson, Crusade Texts in Translation (Farnham, 1997) [hereafter *Itinerarium*]. See Nicholson's translation, 6–14, for questions of compilation and authorship.
- 22 'De expugnatione civitatis Acconensis,' in *Chronica*, 3.cvi–cxxxvi; the portion relevant to the November expedition is cxxii–cxxiii.
- 23 Ibn al-Athīr, 2.378–9.
- 24 Pryor, 'Fight to the Death at Acre,' 107.
- 25 *Itinerarium*, 1.115/119 (Stubbs/Nicholson); *Gesta*, 2.134–35; Ambroise, line 3955.

price of ninety-six Tyrian dollars, and that was further north in Antioch, well outside of the siege zone. He claims that the hunger not only drove the crusaders to fight but also compelled several of them to surrender.²⁶ Ibn Shaddād also provides a fifth motivation, which is not mentioned in the western sources. He claims to have received reports that the crusaders had learned of Saladin's severe illness, which had befallen him in October; they believed he would not be able to lead the Muslim response and figured this to be an opportunity and advantage.²⁷

The *Itinerarium peregrinorum* provides a somewhat vague outline of the principal components of the crusading army. There were contingents each of Knights Templar and Hospitaller and then "various nations brandishing their banners" (*hinc diversas nationes suis coruscare vexillis*). Notably, some units were assembled and led by ecclesiastics. Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, sent forward a contingent of 200 knights and 300 foot, who marched under the banner of St Thomas Becket. Too old to fight himself, Baldwin remained at Acre and in charge of the camp there, along with Frederick, duke of Swabia, and Theobald, count of Blois. Bishop Hubert Walter of Salisbury, on the other hand, did take arms and join the army.²⁸ Once assembled outside the ramparts, the crusaders received a blessing and general absolution by Baldwin and other unnamed ecclesiastics. Baldwin gave the blessing as the highest-ranking metropolitan present, for Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem was apparently ill and could not attend to it.²⁹ The size of the army is not specified, save for the familiar medieval trope of an "astonishing" number; Ibn al-Athīr states the crusaders were "numerous as the grains of sand." Ambroise gives some hints as to the army's orientation, however: soldiers marched in close order in the front, and the rearguard had in it "many good knights."³⁰ Ibn Shaddād points to the presence of both infantry and cavalry as well as a baggage train carrying tents and four days worth of supplies.³¹ Imād ad-Dīn agrees on the four day supply and

26 'De expugnatione civitatis Acconensis,' lines 485–486, corroborates this by pointing to a shortage of straw and food ('*causa straminis et cibariorum*').

27 Ibn Shaddād, 135. A *ghiara* was the equivalent of a sack of crops; see Sato Tsugitaka, *State & Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's, and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), 70.

28 *Itinerarium* 1.115/118 (Stubbs/Nicholson, respectively, and on further notation); Ibn Shaddād, 138, mentions Frederick remaining in camp. On Hubert Walter's military activities, see Lawrence G. Duggan, *Armsbearing and the Clergy in the History and Canon Law of Western Christianity* (Woodbridge, 2013), 26 and 65–66.

29 Ambroise, lines 3961–3964; *Itinerarium*, 1.116/118.

30 Ibn al-Athīr, 2.378; Ambroise, lines 3975–3977: "E l'arieregarde iert si plaine / De bons chevalers qu'a grant plaine / En peüst l'om le chief veoir."

31 Ibn Shaddād, 135.

also notes that Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, and Henry de Champagne, count of Troyes, commanded the army.³²

The crusaders' plan was to march south, but the River Belus (*Na'mān*), which ran just east and then sharply south, lay in their path. The two options were to either cross at the Bridge of Doc (*Da'ūq*), which lay due south, or to circle around the head of the Belus, southeast of Doc. It is clear that the army chose not to march along the river bank, which would have potentially trapped it against the water, but to first move east and then south in a right angle march.³³ Saladin himself was camped at Shafar'am, to the southeast of the river head; he had relocated there on 20–21 October after suffering a bout of fever, taking his royal guard with him.³⁴ Upon hearing of the crusader muster, he sent his heavy baggage even further south, to al-Qaymūn.³⁵ The crusaders moved east to Tell al-'Ajūl, where Ibn al-Athīr mentions that wells had been dug into the hill. The Muslim advance force was nearby, just to the east at Tell al-'Ayyādiyya, but Saladin ordered them to move away and to Tell Kaysān further east.³⁶ This was interpreted as weakness in the crusading sources: perhaps fearing a cavalry charge, Saladin did not wish to meet the crusaders on a level field, and his was thus "the action of a beaten and despairing mind."³⁷ A single source, 'Imād ad-Dīn, claims that fighting occurred at Tell al-'Ajūl, with the advance Muslim guard shooting flaming arrows at the approaching crusaders.³⁸ But with no real battle to fight, the army passed the night at the wells. After watching the crusaders leave camp and disappear, the Acre garrison sortied against the remainder. According to Roger of Howden, fighting continued all four days of the departed expedition and only ended upon their return when Henry de Champagne, Geoffrey de Lusignan, and the Templars returned from their fighting retreat. At that point, the Acre garrison was driven back into the city.³⁹

32 'Imād ad-Dīn, 4.510.

33 Ambroise, lines 3981–3982, is thus in error when writing "they headed straight for the Doc" (*Eht [les] vos errant dreit al / Doc*).

34 Ibn Shaddād, 132.

35 Ibn Shaddād, 136; Ibn al-Athīr, 2.378.

36 Ibn Shaddād, 135.

37 *Itinerarium*, 1.116/119; Ambroise, lines 3983–3988.

38 'Imād ad-Dīn, 4.510: "Nos avant-gardes postés sur la colline d'El-'Yadhyah montèrent aussitôt a cheval pour opérer une diversion et les assaillirent d'une grêle de flèches enflammées."

39 *Itinerarium*, 1.116/119; *Gesta*, 2.144; *Chronica*, 3.73. See also 'De expugnacione civitatis Acco-nensis,' lines 489–500, which details the fighting but not the principals involved.

On the morning of Tuesday 13 November the crusading host set off again, this time marching south towards the Belus crossing. Ambroise offers an intriguing passage on the reason why:

When they did not get a battle they turned towards Caïphas [Haifa] where there was said to be food, of which there was a shortage among the besiegers.⁴⁰

Likely copying from Ambroise's passage, the *Itinerarium* follows in a similar vein: the crusaders were "cheated" of a battle. These texts suggest that the original and primary purpose of the campaign was not to secure food but rather to seek battle with the Muslims. It was only after Conrad and Henry's wish to engage was frustrated that the crusaders lit on the idea of food: having suffered no glory but also no loss, they reoriented as a logistics operation.⁴¹

Advancing southeast towards Haifa, but still on the eastern side of the Belus, the crusaders were met by an organized Muslim army under Saladin's command at Recordane (*Tell Kurdāni*), near the head of the river.⁴² The Arabic sources provide specific details on the Muslim formations and command structure. Saladin's post was in the east in the hills of al-Kharrūba, and he oriented his army between those hills and the head of the Belus to the west; this essentially blocked the crusader passage south. The Muslims were stationed in left, center, and right divisions. On the left wing, by the river, were several of Saladin's most important allies: Taqī al-Dīn (lord of Hama), Ibn 'Umar (lord of Jazīrat), and the forces of Sinjār, who were without their lord 'Imād al-Dīn Zankī but accompanied instead by his nephew, Mu'izz al-Dīn Sanjar Shāh. Along with these men and their soldiers, there were soldiers from assorted tribes, such as Mihrānī and Hakkārī, as well as some unnamed men and also Kurdish emirs, including Sayf al-Dīn 'Ali ibn al-Mashtūb. In the center was the royal guard. On the right wing was Saladin, looking on from his tent, and his brother al-'Ādil Abū Bakr in command of troops from Egypt; other lesser leaders are mentioned in passing. Ibn Shaddād also states that reserve divisions were hidden in the Kharrūba hills and that Saladin ordered skirmishers and

40 Ambroise, lines 3997–4000: "E quant bataille ne troverent, / Vers Caïphas tot dreit tornerent, / Ou l'em dist qu'il aveit vitaille, / Dont al siege aveit meinte faille."

41 *Itinerarium*, 1.116/119.

42 *Itinerarium*, 1.117/119; Ambroise, lines 4001–4003; 'De expugnacione civitatis Acconensis,' lines 505–512, is extremely vague on the details.

the advance guard to move forward of the main ranks to harass the approaching crusaders.⁴³

There is some confusion regarding the location of Saladin's sons: al-Afdil 'Alī (lord of Damascus), al-Zāhir Ghazi (lord of Aleppo), and al-Zāfir Khiḍr (lord of Busra). Ibn al-Athīr claims they too were stationed in the center division, but Ibn Shaddād places them on the right wing. Ibn Shaddād was in close proximity to Saladin himself (he claims: "I was one of those who stayed in attendance on him"), but so too was 'Imād ad-Dīn. Their two accounts make sense when read together: 'Imād ad-Dīn puts Saladin's sons in the right-center of the formation and the royal guard at left-center.⁴⁴

Despite the substantial build-up in the sources, what happened in the resulting engagement is actually poorly-reported. The crusaders saw the Muslim lines ahead. Given the relative flatness of the plain, there could have been little doubt as to the size of the enemy; that the crusaders advanced anyway could suggest a number of interpretations, such as their boldness, incautiousness, overconfidence, or even stupidity. There is no evidence of their mindset here, but I would venture that the prospect of significant food supplies motivated Conrad and Henry to attempt a breakthrough. In any case, the Muslim skirmishers and advance guards attacked and "showered them with arrows that all but hid the sun"; Ambroise and the *Itinerarium* speak of darts, lances, shouting, drumming and trumpeting.⁴⁵ The crusaders kept moving forward, through the skirmishers, trying to reach the river. As they moved, the Muslims kept up their attacks in an attempt to goad them into a more-decisive battle:

Having seen this, they crossed to the west of the river, while the advance guard kept up a close quarters battle. The Franks had gathered together, holding close to one another. The aim of the advance guard was that the Franks should charge them, so that the Muslims could meet them, the battle be fully engaged and lead to a decision, allowing the men to rest.⁴⁶

It is apparent from Ibn al-Athīr's narrative that the crusaders did not form into battle ranks but rather utilized one of the celebrated tactics of crusading

43 Ibn Shaddād, 136.

44 Ibn al-Athīr, 2.379; Ibn Shaddād, 136; 'Imād ad-Dīn, 4.511: 'au centre droit.'

45 Ibn al-Athīr, 2.379; Ambroise, lines 4004–4006; *Itinerarium*, 1.117/119–120. On the role of drums and horns in Muslim attacks, see David Nicolle, *Crusader Warfare, Volume II: Muslims, Mongols and the Struggle against the Crusades, 1050–1300 AD* (London, 2007), 249–50.

46 Ibn al-Athīr, 2.379.

armies: the fighting march.⁴⁷ It is also clear that they were hit hard. 'Imād ad-Dīn's account is somewhat more literary in description; the Muslims "introduced them to the laws and customs of holy war."⁴⁸ Yet the crusaders held formation and did not take the bait: instead of charging, they seem to have fought their way to the head of the Belus and marched around it, thereby moving from the east bank to the west bank of the river. Upon nightfall, they made camp there.⁴⁹ Saladin then shifted his lines: the left wing and center marched due west to extend from the bay to the Belus, thereby cutting off the approach to Haifa. The right wing pivoted ninety degrees to guard the river. In the morning, this realignment would leave the crusaders with only two practicable choices: attempt to move south, break through the Muslim line, and reach Haifa, or retire north back towards Acre. In the meantime, the skirmishers continued to pelt the camp with arrows throughout the night.⁵⁰

If we are guided by Clausewitz's premise that retreat (and subsequently, the pursuit) begins at the moment an army abandons its position, then the morning of Wednesday 14 November was the start of the crusaders' fighting retreat. From this point forward, close analysis of that army's movements, formations, and engagements reveals a striking similarity with the principles of a fighting retreat as outlined in *On War*. When morning arrived on Wednesday the crusaders decided to return to Acre. Two factors influenced their eventual turn-about. First, they were hemmed in on two sides (south and east) by thousands of foes. Second, they had somehow learned that the purported stores of food at Haifa had vanished, carried off by the Muslims.⁵¹ This marked the end of the logistics phase of the expedition. With no further reason to go south, and – being surrounded – no practicable way to earn the glory sought on the campaign's first day, they settled on a return north.

Thus began the fighting retreat to the north.⁵² Ambroise foreshadows, "The pilgrims turned to return to the place whence they had come, but they would

47 Explained in detail in R.C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097–1193*, 2nd ed. (Reprint, Cambridge, 1996), 156–65. See also J. France, 'Crusading Warfare and its Adaptation to Eastern Conditions in the Twelfth Century,' *Mediterranean Historical Review* 15 (2000), 60–61; G. Theotokis, 'The Square 'Fighting March' of the Crusaders at the Battle of Ascalon (1099),' *Journal of Medieval Military History* 11 (2013), 57–71.

48 'Imād ad-Dīn, 4.511: "et s'acquittèrent a leur égard des lois et coutumes de la guerre sainte."

49 Ibn al-Athīr, 2.379; Ibn Shaddād, 137; Ambroise, lines 4007–4009; *Itinerarium*, 1.117/120; 'De expugnacione civitatis Acconensis,' lines 513–516.

50 Ibn Shaddād, 137.

51 Ambroise, lines 4010–4013; *Itinerarium*, 1.118/120.

52 This march is briefly discussed in Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 161–62; except as noted,

have many attacks before they got back to their tents.”⁵³ And indeed the crusader retreat began, in Clausewitzian fashion, with a re-engagement with the Muslim vanguard that had crept too close to the western camp. The still-sickly Saladin had been receiving hourly reports about the crusaders’ status, and he was informed the moment they began to break camp at dawn. He ordered his skirmishers and advance force forward into action, backed up by the main divisions in a close reserve role. The crusaders hurriedly formed their lines and offered battle, but the western sources claim that the Muslims initially balked at charging at them. Whether or not that was the case, it is clear that a major fight took place at the head of the Belus that morning. An unspecified but apparently large number of men and horses fell on both sides, and after a time the armies separated.⁵⁴ By seizing the initiative, the crusaders had effectively pushed back the pursuit so that the crusaders could withdraw as planned. Given this respite, the crusaders began their march north, keeping the Belus to their right (east) while the Muslims pursued them from behind (south) and also to their left (west). The terrain was unfavorable, but the river and its marshes at least protected the eastern flank, though not from missile fire.⁵⁵

Clausewitz urges that a fighting retreat be protected by a strong rearguard containing the best soldiers. Such a disposition is easily discerned from the evidence. Ambroise states that the rearguard was composed of English soldiers as well as the Knights Templar.⁵⁶ They marched, at times, backwards, so as to keep their eyes on the Muslims, and their shields up to block the masses of arrows fired after them: “for God never created storm of snow or hail, nor shower in the dews of May, which fell more heavily than the storm of bolts that fell on the army.” The *Itinerarium* adds two details: the presence of missile

I agree with Smail's analysis but he did not classify it as a fighting *retreat*, treating it instead as a general fighting march.

53 Ambroise, 4029–4032: “E li pelerin retornerent / Por repairier la dont tornerent, / Mais mul eurent ainceis entente / Qu'il venissent jusqu'a lor tentes.”

54 Ambroise, lines 4024–4028; *Itinerarium*, 1.118/120.

55 The Belus was lined with marshes, which were only drained in the 1930s and 1940s, and visitors in the nineteenth century also remarked on its torrential flow during the rainy season (October–March); these are the conditions the crusaders likely faced. See J. Abbott, ‘Memoirs of the Holy Land,’ *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 27 (1852), 291–92; and *Journal of a Deputation sent to the East by the Committee of the Malta Protestant College, Part 1* (London, 1849), 265.

56 There is no reference to infantry tactics in the Templar Rule; see M. Bennett, ‘La Règle du Temple as a Military Manual, or How to Deliver a Cavalry Charge,’ in *Studies in Medieval History presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1989).

troops in the rearguard and their active returning of the Muslim fire.⁵⁷ This is corroborated by Ibn Shaddād, who saw hails of bolts and arrows coming from the rearguard. Moreover, he states that those infantry had formed into a protective wall. The crusader horse, claims Ibn Shaddād, was in the center and did not engage, “with the result being that on that day not one of them was seen.”⁵⁸ If this is true, then we can assert that at least some Templars had dismounted to fight.⁵⁹

Also mirroring *On War*, the crusader march was deliberately paced and even restrained by the army’s voluntary operations. As it marched on, the combat proceeded as told by Ibn Shaddād:

The enemy proceeded along the west bank of the river, making for their tents while being heavily engaged from all sides, in fact, hard pressed from every direction but the river. The battle became hot and many of them were laid low. Their dead they buried and their wounded they carried away.⁶⁰

There is no suggestion of a rout here, nor even a hurried temperament. Instead, the crusaders deliberately slowed their pace by stopping to bury their dead on-site. Ibn Shaddād’s comment on the wounded is important as well: the encumbrance of bleeding, maimed, and/or unconscious comrades slowed the march considerably. The retrieving and carrying of dead and wounded appears to have occurred at close quarters. Ibn al-Athīr speaks of Muslims attacking with sword, spear, and arrows, which indicates a pursuit that periodically closed to within hand-to-hand range. Muslim arrows were lobbed across the river as well.⁶¹ Ibn Shaddād claims that Saladin kept feeding soldiers into the pursuit, so much so that he himself was eventually left with but a small band for his own protection.⁶² Marching backwards at times, carrying the wounded,

57 Ambroise, lines 4040–4046; *Itinerarium*, 1.118/120.

58 Ibn Shaddād, 137; Imād ad-Dīn, 4.512, offers a similar description.

59 *Contra* Smail’s narration, in which ‘the foot-soldiers protected the knights like a wall’; see *Crusading Warfare*, 161. Dismounted knights were a common feature in eleventh and twelfth-century European warfare, although the image runs counter to the traditional importance attached to cavalry charges in the Crusades. See S. Morillo, *Warfare under the Anglo-Norman Kings, 1066–1135* (Woodbridge, 1994), 156–59; M. Bennett, ‘The Myth of the Military Supremacy of Knightly Cavalry,’ in *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare: Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. M.J. Strickland (Stamford, 1998), 176–77.

60 Ibn Shaddād, 137.

61 *Itinerarium*, 1.118/120; Ibn al-Athīr, 2.379.

62 Ibn Shaddād, 137.

fighting off pursuers, and halting to bury the dead – these conditions all reduced the pace of retreat.

Moreover, regular practices of military order were followed in order to keep the formation intact but restrained. The army marched alongside its standard, a red cross on a white field that resembled (and may have been) a Templar banner. The standard was on a tall pole mounted on a mule-drawn wagon. The use of banners was key to preventing a rout because they had both practical and psychological importance: they served as a physical rallying points but also inspired the soldiers to keep fighting.⁶³ In terms of speed, the mule cart did not have to be debilitatingly slow – its potential rate of speed was thirty kilometers per day – but soldiers could be left behind if it was pulled too quickly.⁶⁴ Thus, the speed of march was set not by the mules but rather by the rearguard, which had to move slowly to cover the retreat while not drifting too far from the standard. In peaceful travel over an array of terrains, the crusading armies of Peter the Hermit in 1095–1096 and Frederick Barbarossa in 1190 averaged between 10.5–18.3 miles (16.9–29.5 kilometers) per day, but that was without the distraction of repelling pursuers.⁶⁵ The distance from the head of the Belus (today, the springs at the En Afek Nature Reserve) to the crusader command post at the hill of Toron is roughly nine kilometers as the crow flies but longer on a march, since the crusaders retreat took them first north, then east across the Doc bridge, then north again.⁶⁶ Due to the constant fighting and the deliberate, steady pace – ‘Imād ad-Dīn specifically calls attention to their slow walk – the crusaders did not make it very far north on 14 November. Indeed, they only covered three kilometers.⁶⁷ But the key is that the slowness came entirely by discipline and choice: good order prevented a rout, training and experience

63 J.F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages: from the Eighth Century to 1340*, tr. S. Willard and Mrs. R.W. Southern, 2nd ed. (Woodbridge, 1997), 89. On the unifying sign of the cross during the Third Crusade, see R.W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners: Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield* (Woodbridge, 2010), 61.

64 On mules, see J. Haldon, ‘Roads and Communications in the Byzantine Empire: Wagons, Horses, and Supplies,’ in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. J.H. Pryor (Aldershot, 2006), 146.

65 J.W. Nesbitt, ‘The Rate of March of Crusading Armies in Europe: a Study and Computation,’ *Traditio* 19 (1963), 181.

66 En Afek is also the ancient site of Aphik mentioned in Judges 1.31; the Toron, otherwise known as *Tell al-Muṣallabīn* or *Tell al-Fukhkhar*, was by tradition a capital of ancient Canaan.

67 ‘Imād ad-Dīn, 4.513: “mais les Francs continuaient à marcher lentement”; Lyons and Jackson, *Politics of the Holy War*, 321.

kept the formation intact, and the crusaders' handling of their casualties was a voluntary practice.

Benjamin Kedar has hypothesized that crusader commanders had learned a lesson from the disaster at Hattin by comparing it to Richard I's march to Arsur four years later:

In 1187 they had attempted in vain to traverse about 30 kilometers in a single day in order to avert the fall of Tiberias; on their march from Acre to Arsur in 1191 they covered about 100 kilometers in 17 days, with the crusader army resting on no less than seven of those days....⁶⁸

Arsur was a fighting march, not a fighting retreat, but the principle is the same. One might amend Kedar's assertion with the notion that the march in 1190 constituted an additional step in the learning process, an affirmative experience on the value of slowing down. Malcolm Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, in fact, dubbed it "the fiercest field action since Ḥaṭṭīn."⁶⁹ That the retreating soldiers were able to hold formation and rank under constant attack outside of Acre is yet more evidence of the evolving fighting march practices of crusading armies.

The army then reached a point near the Bridge of Doc, where it intended to cross from the western to the eastern bank of the river. Beset by heat, thirst, and the burden of carrying along their wounded, soldiers nonetheless held their lines against the encircling Muslims, and both 'Imād ad-Dīn and Ibn Shaddād lament that the crusaders still refused to be goaded into a charge. The former offers an image of the crusader discipline that is remarkable and reminiscent of the Spartans at Thermopylae: they stood, fought, and died "impassive and silent" (*mais les Francs demeuraient immobiles et comme fichés en terre, impassibles, silencieux*). Saladin's royal guard participated in the fighting, losing two of its champions to severe wounds.⁷⁰ By day's end, the crusaders had survived and chose to camp near the enemy presence again. The *Itinerarium* vaguely situates them near the Belus and repelling periodic night attacks.⁷¹

The remaining key components of a Clausewitzian fighting retreat are regular, small engagements against pursuers and the courageous leadership that is required to initiate them. The withdrawal back to Acre had begun with a skirmish on Wednesday morning; fighting had continued throughout the day

68 B.Z. Kedar, 'King Richard's Plan for the Battle of Arsūf/Arsur, 1191,' in *The Medieval Way of War*, 118.

69 Jackson and Lyons, *Politics of the Holy War*, 321.

70 Ibn Shaddād, 137–38; 'Imād ad-Dīn, 4.512–13.

71 *Itinerarium*, 1.118/120.

while on the march and then into the night while encamped; and a final engagement was initiated by the crusaders the following morning, Thursday 15 November. The sole mission for that day was to cross to the eastern bank of the Belus, from where they could stream north and back to the protection of the ramparts at Acre. The only practical way across was the Doc bridge, which would end up being the scene of the fighting.

There is confusion at this point in Ibn Shaddād's account, for he claims that the crusaders had actually cut the bridge the night before.⁷² This seems very unlikely, for it is hard to see when the crusaders would have had the time or freedom of movement to demolish a bridge on Wednesday. The western sources claim that the bridge was intact and well-defended by Muslims, who prevented the passage of the army.⁷³ How can we account for the author's mistake? It is possible that Ibn Shaddād's attention was elsewhere at this point because, on the night of the 14th, Saladin attempted to plan an attack upon the Acre ramparts while the stranded army was still away, and in coordination with the city garrison.⁷⁴ Helpfully, 'Imād ad-Dīn's account adds clarity by pinning the bridge's demolition to Thursday, not Wednesday. Thus, the crusaders destroyed it only after first crossing themselves – a cunning move that effectively stranded half of the pursuing Muslim army on the west bank of the Belus.⁷⁵ In Clausewitzian terms, they made effective use of the terrain available to them.

Therefore, on Thursday morning the crusaders broke camp and made their way to the Bridge of Doc. Saladin apparently balked at the chance of attacking them before they could reach it, thinking the danger too great. The passage in Ibn Shaddād's text is vague and difficult to interpret here, but a good guess is that Saladin worried about his men getting trapped between the crusader camp and the river; therefore, he kept his divisions on the eastern bank.⁷⁶ Ambroise claims the Muslims had intended to demolish the bridge themselves but had not yet done so by the time the crusaders approached. Therefore, they gathered on the bridge instead and fought to prevent the crusaders from crossing it.⁷⁷ Some initial fighting was inconclusive, but then the crusaders threw

⁷² Ibn Shaddād, 138.

⁷³ Ambroise, lines 4061–4072; *Itinerarium*, 1.118/120.

⁷⁴ Ibn Shaddād, 138. Saladin received no response from Acre and had to abandon the plan.

⁷⁵ 'Imād ad-Dīn, 4.513.

⁷⁶ Ibn Shaddād, 138.

⁷⁷ Ambroise, lines 4067–4072: 'They intended to destroy the bridge when the army came up and attacked them, but they were so thick on the bridge that the pilgrims did not know how to cross, they saw them so piled up there' (*'Ja veleient le pont abatre, / Quant l'ost*

their reserves into the fray and were able to force a crossing.⁷⁸ The decisive move was made by Geoffrey de Lusignan, who charged with five other knights and scattered the first rank of Muslims on the bridge, forcing some thirty of them into the water. The other crusaders poured into the breach and steadily fought their way across the bridge to the eastern bank.⁷⁹ As noted above, they then demolished the bridge. All of the sources lose interest in the tale once the army had crossed: it somehow returned to Acre intact and rejoined the rest of the crusaders behind the camp's ramparts (*"Christiani redeunt in castra secura"*), but by which route and in how many days is unspecified.⁸⁰

In the wake of what must be considered a failure by Saladin's army to crush an exposed and debilitated foe the Muslim sources are, perhaps unsurprisingly, muted.⁸¹ The authors celebrate the slaying of so many crusaders but simultaneously lament the fact that the rest of the army had survived. Saladin's illness is offered as an excuse. Ibn al-Athīr postulates that, had he been able to personally lead on the field at important moments, the battles could have been more decisive. Ibn Shaddād implies the same, although he admits that Saladin was indeed able to direct his sons during the battles. Neither source credits the tenacity of the crusaders or the effectiveness of their retreat.⁸²

Read as a strategic operation, the fighting retreat near Acre in November 1190 must be considered a complete success. The crusaders managed to extricate themselves from hostile territory and near encirclement by moving deliberately over the course of two days and refusing to engage in any combat that did not further the pursuit of their goal. Although they suffered many casualties, the bulk of them escaped from the Muslims intact and were able to

s'envint sor els embatre, / Mais le pont si porpris aveient / Que le pelerin ne saveient / Par ont il peüssent passer, / Tant s'en i vindrent entasser").

78 Ibn Shaddād, 138.

79 Ambroise, lines 4073–4084; *Itinerarium*, 1.118–19/120–21. Ibn Shaddād, 138, claims that Henry de Champagne and Conrad de Montferrat were injured in the fighting, and also that an unnamed, heavily-armored crusader was captured and beheaded.

80 'De expugnatione civitatis Acconensis,' line 519.

81 As such, it should contribute to such interpretations as that of Paul M. Cobb: 'after Hattin, his military record was miserable – a chain of defeats and prolonged periods in the field that alienated his commanders and, in the worst cases, turned his troops against him'; see *The Race for Paradise: an Islamic History of the Crusades* (Oxford, 2014.203). But popular and scholarly opinions of his career have swung to and fro across the centuries; for a review, see R. Irwin, 'Saladin and the Third Crusade: a Case Study in Historiography and the Historical Novel,' in *A Companion to Historiography*, ed. M. Bentley (London and New York, 1997), 139–52.

82 Ibn al-Athīr, 2.379; Ibn Shaddād, 138.

rejoin the main army camped outside of Acre. Once reunited, they collectively drove off sorties from the city garrison, defended their ramparts into the winter, and were numerous and tenacious enough to launch a major attack against Acre on New Year's Eve. In other words, the balance of equilibrium was restored.⁸³ And in a stroke of either good fortune or very competent planning, the crusaders' four days worth of supplies exactly matched the four days of conflict.

The retreat to Acre closely mirrors the behavior of Clausewitz's wounded lion on the retreat. I am not the first medievalist to compare Clausewitzian concepts such as this one to occasions of war before 1500 or to suggest that medieval generals employed Clausewitzian-style strategies and tactics. Numerous similar studies abound, and there is of course J.F. Verbruggen's strident claim: "The fact that medieval leaders acted as Clausewitz says in the beginning of the nineteenth century shows that their ideas were right."⁸⁴ In this view, commanders and military thinkers essentially figured out the best ways to fight during the Middle Ages, so later strategists were less innovative or perceptive than they themselves may have believed. I have found this be the case in my own research, not only here but also on the question of the canon of military writers.⁸⁵ But noting a resemblance between medieval and modern military strategy is a far cry from using *On War* as an interpretive lens on the Middle Ages, which can be problematic for a number of reasons.⁸⁶

Resemblances between medieval and modern warfare suggest another argument vis-à-vis *On War*. Plainly said, Clausewitz was wrong in his doubts on the intellectual insight and applicability of older historical examples of warfare. He asserts in book two:

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- 83 Ibn Shaddād, 141–42. The fighting went on for several days, and on 5 January 1191, a section of Acre's walls collapsed. Brown, *Retreat from Gettysburg*, 255, reaches a similar conclusion about Robert E. Lee's fighting retreat.
 - 84 Verbruggen, *Art of War*, 348–9. For other examples, see Bernard S. Bachrach, 'Vouillé and the Decisive Battle Phenomenon in Late Antique Gaul,' in *The Battle of Vouillé, 507 CE: Where France Began*, ed. R.W. Mathisen and D. Shanzer (Boston and Berlin, 2012), 11–42; and K. Leyser, *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: the Gregorian Revolution and Beyond*, ed. T. Reuter (London, 1994), 77–95.
 - 85 J.D. Hosler, 'Niccolò Machiavelli, John of Salisbury, and the Originality of *Arte della guerra*,' *Viator* 46 (2015), 303–333.
 - 86 For some of the issues involved, see the thought-provoking blog piece by Daniel Franke, 'The Clausewitz Chronicles, Part 1: Clausewitz and Medieval Warfare,' *The Winds of War* (March 26, 2012), www.milesstrenuous.com/2012/03/26/the-clausewitz-chronicles-clausewitz-and-medieval-warfare, accessed July 20, 2015.

The further back one goes, the less useful military history becomes, growing poorer and barer at the same time. [...] This uselessness is of course not absolute; it refers only to matters that depend on a precise knowledge of the actual circumstances, or on details in which warfare has changed.⁸⁷

As Jon Sumida has written, “the Clausewitzian ideal was to teach supreme command in war using *only* a body of work produced by correct methodological tactics.”⁸⁸ The discernment of said tactics in much earlier periods, Clausewitz alludes, is prohibited by imprecise or insufficient source material. For eras such as the Crusades, however, the sources are indeed numerous and diverse enough to provide the operational details necessary for a full evaluation of both strategy and tactics. We can perhaps forgive Clausewitz for living before the nineteenth-century explosion in medieval documents, extracted from archives by Leopold von Ranke and other historians of his ilk, and the close study thereof.⁸⁹ But old habits die hard, and the notion that warfare in the Middle Ages is insufficiently evidenced remains a myth that needs dispelling.

87 *On War*, 2.6.

88 J. Sumida, ‘The Relationship of History and Theory in *On War*: the Clausewitzian Ideal and its Implications,’ *Journal of Military History* 65 (April 2001), 344.

89 Technically, the grand project *Recueil des historiens des croisades* was launched in France in 1824, seven years before Clausewitz’s death. Ranke became active later in the 1830s. See G. Constable, ‘The Historiography of the Crusades,’ in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. A.E. Laiou and R.P. Mottahdeh (Washington D.C., 2001), 9.

Martyrs for the Faith: Denmark, the Third Crusade and the Fall of Acre in 1191

Janus Møller Jensen

In 1189, a fleet from the northern seas arrived at the siege of Acre in the Holy Land. It was led by Flemish and Danish nobles and probably consisted of participants from many different countries. But it was the Danish warriors that attracted attention from contemporaries. The anonymous Templar author of *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, who apparently took part in the siege personally, described it more closely. It consisted, he claimed, of 50 cogs – large vessels – and 12.000 men. These numbers seem exaggerated but they appear in other contemporary sources as well.¹ The Norman poet and chronicler, Ambroise, talked in his *L'Estoire de guerre sainte* of “these 14.000 men, which was the Danish army,” and *The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre* also counted 50 cogs without, however, mentioning any Danes.² It might be due to mutual influence but nevertheless bears witness to the fact that contemporaries

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1 *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum: Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, ed. H. Eberhard Mayer, Schriften der MGH, 18 (Stuttgart, 1962), 1.27, 309; tr. *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade. A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, H.J. Nicholson, Crusade Texts in Translation (Aldershot, 1997), 74.

2 Ambroise, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, tr. M.J. Hubert with notes and documentation by J.L. La Monte, Records of Civilization. Sources and Studies, 34 (New York, 1976), 137; *L'Estoire de Eracles empeureur et la conquete de la Terre d'Outremer*, RHC Occ., 2, p. 127; *The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre, 1184–97, The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade. Sources in Translation*, tr. P.W. Edbury (Aldershot, 1996), 81–82. The information in Ambroise is also found in the Latin continuation of William of Tyre, cf. *Das Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, 122–24.

believed this to be a large army and that it was Danish led.³ However, in modern crusade scholarship the Danes at the siege of Acre have not received the same amount of attention as other contingents and famous leaders taking part in the crusade. Focus has naturally been on the mysterious death of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, the conflict between King Phillip II Augustus of France and King Richard the Lionhearted of England, and the epic battle between Richard and Sultan Saladin.⁴ The purpose of this article is to highlight the Danish – or Scandinavian – contribution to the Third Crusade in order to come to appreciate the importance of crusading in late twelfth century Scandinavia. Further, this will complement the general understanding of crusading in a European context at the time of the Third Crusade.

Brief Historiography

The first written historical work that explicitly dealt with the Danish participation in the Third Crusade dates from the 1190's. It was a short chronicle called *Historia de profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam* describing a Dano-Norwegian crusading expedition that, however, arrived too late in the Holy Land to participate in the fighting.⁵ The text was written by an anonymous author, who at some point was a canon at the Premonstratensian monastery in the Norwegian town of Tønsberg, and was probably Norwegian in origin. His firm knowledge of Danish affairs suggested that he wrote the text in Denmark, most likely at the monastery in Børglum, perhaps being one of the clergymen that went into exile in Denmark after the accession of King Sverre (1184–1202) to the Norwegian throne in 1192. He did so at the instigation of a superior cleric, *Dominus K*, and some of the participants in the expedition, a 'couple of years' after their return, as the author vaguely states in the introduction. It means that it was most likely written in the late 1190's and almost certainly before 1202 as he mentions the Danish king Knud VI (1182–1202) who died in 1202.⁶

3 In the early fourteenth century, the deeds of Danes were remembered by the German poet describing the crusade of Landgrave Ludwig III of Thuringia, who died during the siege of Acre in 1190, even if his focus was on the Frisian crusaders, *Die Kreuzfahrt des Landgrafen Ludwigs des Frommen von Thüringen*, MGH Deutsche Chroniken IV/2 (Berlin, 1923; Nachdruck Zürich 1973), vv. 550–60.

4 Cf. T. Asbridge, *The Crusades. The War for the Holy Land* (London, 2010).

5 *Historia de Profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam*, in *Scriptores Minores Historiae Danicae Medii Aevi*, red. M.Cl. Gertz, 2 vols. (København, 1918–20; reprint 1970), 2: 443–492.

6 K. Skovgaard-Petersen, *A Journey to the Promised Land. Crusading Theology in the Historia de Profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam* (c. 1200) (København, 2001); K. Skovgaard-

Apparently it did not have a wide circulation and has only been preserved in a seventeenth century copy. It was published as an example of Dano-Norwegian historical writing in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁷ It was translated into Danish in the early twentieth century by the Danish medieval historian Jørgen Olrik, who provided a commentary that gave some reference to the international crusade context of the *Historia de profectione*.⁸ This context was underlined as early as the 1860's by the French crusade historian Paul Riant, whose study on Scandinavian participation in the crusade to the Holy Land unfortunately went largely unnoticed by Scandinavian historians.⁹ A number of studies have attempted to identify both the author and the nobles mentioned in the text of *Historia de profectione* but without specific interest in the crusading character of the expedition or the text.¹⁰

Both of these topics have, however, recently been thoroughly analysed by the Danish scholar and Latinist Karen Skovgaard-Petersen. She demonstrated that the text was full of common crusading themes and placed it against a general European background of crusading literature in the twelfth century. Because it was written at the instigation of a secular noble, she concluded that it demonstrated how integral crusading had become in Scandinavia by the end of the twelfth century. The warrior elites were indeed very familiar with not

Petersen, 'Korstogstematik i *Historia de Profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam*,' in *Olavslæggenden og den latinske historieskrivning i 1100-tallets Norge*, ed. I. Ekrem, L.B. Mortensen and K. Skovgaard-Petersen (København, 2000), 281–302.

7 Cf. the introduction to the edition of *Historia de profectione Danorum in Scriptores Minores*.

8 *Beretning om danernes Færd til det Hellige Land*, in *Krøniker fra Valdemarstiden*, tr. J. Olrik (København, 1900–01), 117–75.

9 P. Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au temps des croisades* (Paris, 1865). Danish tr. P. Riant, *Skandinavernes Korstog og Andagtsreiser til Palæstina (1000–1350)* (København, 1868).

10 K. Kålund, 'Kan *Historia de profectione Danorum in Terram Sanctam* regnes til Danmarks Litteratur?,' *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, ser. 2, vol. 11 (1896), 79–96; V. Skånland, 'Einige Bemærkungen zu der *Historia de profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam*,' *Symbolae Osloenses*, 33 (1957), 137–55 and 36 (1960), 99–115; E. Vandvik, *Om skriftet De Profectione Danorum*, Det norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, ser. 2: Historisk-Filosofisk Klasse, 4 (Oslo, 1954); A.O. Johnsen, 'Ny tolkning av *Historia de Profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam*,' in *Från medeltid till välfärdssamhälle. Nordiska historikermötet i Uppsala 1974*, ed. S.A. Nilsson, K.-G. Hildebrand and B. Öhngren (Stockholm, 1976), 507–27; E. Kraggerud, 'Normannen Ulv og de danske korsfarere i 1191,' *Middelalderforum*, 11 (1985), 86–107.

only the experience of crusading but even the finer aspects of crusade ideology.¹¹

Exactly the opposite conclusion was reached by Christopher J. Tyerman in his provocative article 'Were there any crusades in the twelfth century.' He used the *Historia de profectione* to prove that Danes were almost completely ignorant of crusading by the time of the Third Crusade. When the news of the fall of Jerusalem reached Denmark the nobles present simply did not know what to do, he argued. They were unprepared for the message of crusade and how to react to it.¹²

However, work in the last almost two decades of Scandinavian crusade studies have proved this not to be the case.¹³ When the first crusade was preached 'the Dane broke off his long drawn-out potations, the Norwegians left his diet of raw fish' to take part in the crusade.¹⁴ Crusading had an immediate impact in the North in at least three ways. First, Danes took part in the crusades to the Holy Land. Second, crusade ideology influenced the wars against the heathen neighboring countries. Third, crusade ideology came to have an impact on the internal struggles for power between the competing lines of the royal families within the respective countries and among the various political players in the struggle for power in the Baltic. Fourth, the numerous fleets from Denmark more than suggest that it was not a matter of presenting a few royal retainers with a brand new concept but something that had a much wider appeal.

Christopher Tyerman had a point when he argued that the more defining aspects of crusading according to modern historians came into being only during the twelfth century and specifically after the time of the Third Crusade even if the many elements of taking the cross, preaching, granting of privileges had been there from the start.¹⁵ But that was only the result of a development that came about also as a consequence of the diversity and the experience of

11 Skovgaard-Petersen, A Journey; Skovgaard-Petersen, 'Korstogstematik,' 281–302.

12 C.J. Tyerman, 'Were there any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?,' *English Historical Review*, 110 (1995), 553–577; C.J. Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (London, 1998).

13 K.V. Jensen, *Korstog ved verdens yderste rand. Danmark og Portugal ca. 1000 til ca. 1250* (Odense, 2011); English tr. *Crusading at the Edges of Europe. Denmark and Portugal c.1000–c.1250* (Routledge, 2017). Cf. for a recent overview with references to the historiography: J.M. Jensen, 'The Second Crusade and the Significance of Crusading in Scandinavia and the North Atlantic Region,' in *The Second Crusade. Holy War on the Periphery of Latin Christendom*, ed. J.T. Roche and J.M. Jensen (Turnhout, 2015), 155–182.

14 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum. The History of the English Kings*, ed. and tr. R.A.B. Mynors completed by R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998), vol. 1:606–7.

15 Tyerman, *Inventing the Crusades*. Cf. J.M. Jensen, 'Peregrinatio sive expeditio: Why the First Crusade was not a Pilgrimage,' *Al-Masāq*, 15 (2003), 119–37.

crusading in the frontier regions of Latin Christendom.¹⁶ This suggests, contrary to his general case, that especially in a frontier zone like Denmark the message of crusade had made quite an impact. In this respect, a closer look on the way the Third Crusade was preached and the response in Scandinavia might be an important contribution to this debate in general.

The Fall of Jerusalem

News of the fall of Jerusalem in July 1187 apparently reached Denmark through a papal legate at the Christmas court of Knud VI (1182–1202) in the city of Odense in December 1187 as described in *Historia de profectione*.¹⁷ The author clearly states that this was a shock to the assembled nobles and king alike. The message was, however, received with the same kind of shock when it reached Rome in October 1187, and there is nothing to suggest that the nobles were unprepared to answer the call. Quite to the contrary, it might even be argued that the papacy expected them to be more than ready to do so. The travelling distance between Rome and Denmark's southern border was nine weeks.¹⁸ As the news of the fall of Jerusalem only reached Rome in late October 1187 and the papal legate arrived at the Christmas court of Knud VI in December, this must mean that the Danish king was among the first princes that the pope wanted to involve in a new crusade. This should come as no surprise. During the reign of Knud, Danes were particularly suited for crusading for three main reasons: They had 'slender limbs, indomitable minds, and a devout fervent faith.' Besides, they came from the cold north, which made them 'naturally hardy' as the anonymous Templar author of the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* observed.¹⁹

16 K.V. Jensen has recently provided strong evidence for this development when he compares Denmark and Portugal from a crusade perspective and questions the traditional ideas of centre and periphery of Europe in a crusade context, cf. K.V. Jensen, *Korstog ved verdens yderste rand*; English tr. *Crusading at the Edges of Europe*.

17 *Historia de profectione Danorum*, 464–65.

18 According to a mid-twelfth century itinerary written by the Icelandic abbot Nikulás of Munkathvera travelling from his Benedictine monastery on the north coast of Iceland to Jerusalem, cf. J.M. Jensen, 'Vejen til Jerusalem: Danmark og pilgrimsvejen til det Hellige Land i det 12. århundrede. En islandsk vejviser,' in *Ett annat 1100-tal. Individ, kollektiv och kulturella mönster i medeltidens Danmark*, ed. P. Carelli, L. Hermanson and H. Sanders (Göteborg, 2004), 284–337.

19 *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, 309: '[Dani ... et Frisones], quos ab aquilone progressos rigor natives exasperat et ad bellum aptat triplex commoditas, artus scilicet proceri, mens indomita et fidei fervor devotus.' Tr. *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 74.

Faced with the message of the fall of Jerusalem, the royal retainers and other nobles of the realm present were dumbstruck. Shock and sorrow left them speechless according to the *Historia de profectione*. But then the mighty old warrior and hero of the Baltic crusades, Esbern Snare, stood up and addressed the men: He grieved at the news but then appealed to the present warriors to remember the deeds of their forefather, who once conquered Greece, Italy, Normandy, took possession of England, the Wendish areas and spread fear and terror throughout the world. Then they fought from worldly motives. But now they were asked to take part in a war with higher goals, to fight for the spiritual *patria*. The speech had the desired effect and 15 of the magnates present took the cross. Afterwards the cross was preached in all churches and in all legal assemblies throughout the realm.²⁰ As Karen Skovgaard-Petersen has demonstrated, this speech was clearly part of crusading topoi in which the present nobles and knights are asked to supersede the deeds of their forefathers.²¹ Rather than interpreting this to mean, that the present nobles were unprepared for receiving or even responding to the call for crusade, it all appears rather well-staged and part of a common crusade rhetoric. The news of the fall of Jerusalem and the subsequent preaching of the Third Crusade formed the background for the Danish crusading fleet that arrived at the siege of Acre.

Preaching the Third Crusade in Denmark

To what message did these 'heavily armed and famous,' as Ambroise described them, Danish 'future martyrs and confessors of the faith' as *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* called them,²² respond? How was the cross preached in Denmark? According to the brief description in *Historia de profectione* it was apparently a highly effective and well-organized campaign. It is difficult to imagine that this happened without the close cooperation and involvement of the Danish king and church and according to authorised texts and manuals.

This is the impression we get from the *Historia de profectione*. As in the *Historia de expeditione friderici*, that told of the crusade of Emperor Frederik Barbarossa, the *Historia de profectione* contained a papal exhortation to crusade, which the papal legate carried with him. Whereas the German chronicle

20 *Historia de profectione Danorum*, 465–468.

21 Skovgaard-Petersen, *A Journey*, 37–43.

22 Ambroise, *The Crusade of Richard the Lion-Heart*, 137; *Das Itinerarium Perigrinorum*, 1.31, 317, English tr. *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 83.

provided both a version the papal bull of Gregory VIII calling the Third Crusade, *Audita tremendi*, which according to the chronicle was used to preach the crusade through interpreters, the papal letter provided by the author of *Historia de profectione* is not known from other sources.²³ It is probably not authentic, as the author stated that he would merely render the substance of the papal appeal, which means that even if there was an otherwise unknown papal crusade encyclical behind the author's rendering, the exact wording remains unknown.²⁴ The letter is still highly interesting. Some of the central themes from *Audita tremendi* are conspicuously missing, for instance any mention of worldly rewards and privileges. Spiritual rewards are only alluded to indirectly. Not even Jerusalem is mentioned. Perhaps because the author already has introduced the background to the appeal – the defeat at Hattin, the loss of the relic of the true cross and the fall of Jerusalem, at the beginning of the text?²⁵

However, there are other themes that correspond completely with contemporary papal crusading rhetoric in the *Historia de profectione*. For instance, the papal exhortation, as rendered by *Historia de Profectione*, began by stressing how Jerusalem had fallen as a consequence 'of our sins' and used Psalm 78 as a Biblical example of the irruption of the pagans into Jerusalem and the pollution of the sacred places. This was a common reference in contemporary crusade literature and was also used in the papal bull *Audita tremendi*. In the version found in *Historia de profectione*, the psalm was used to inspire the knights to remember their debt to Christ for their salvation and not to tolerate that the insult to Christ remained un-avenged long. Appeals to knightly honour and the need to take revenge was a common part of official crusade propaganda in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries according to the preserved preaching manuals. The bull further stressed the need to follow in the footsteps of Christ and to give one's life up for Christ, which were themes very prominent for instance among the chronicles of the First Crusade.²⁶

23 *Historia de expeditione Frederici imperatores*, in A. Chroust, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs*, MGH SRG, n.s. 5 (Hannover, 1928), 1–115, at. 6–10, tr. G.A. Loud, *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa* (Farnham, 2010), 33–134. It further contains a letter from the papal legate Henry of Albano, *Historia de expeditione Frederici*, 11–13.

24 Cf. Skovgaard-Petersen, *A Journey*, 28. A. Linder apparently takes it as valid, Linder, *Raising Arms. Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2003), 2–3.

25 Skovgaard-Petersen, *A Journey*, 27.

26 Skovgaard-Petersen, *A Journey*, 27–37. Cf. S.A. Throop, *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance, 1095–1216* (London, 2011); C.A. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades. Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1998).

In the constructed speech of Esbern Snare, he even promised that if the warriors did this they would receive the reward of saints. As Karen Skovgaard-Petersen argued, this echoed the Acts of the Apostles when Jesus said that those who turned from the dark to the light would gain remission of sins and the fate of the saints. This phrase was used by the chroniclers of the First Crusade and in the papal bulls from the Second Crusade onwards to describe the remission of sins gained from taking part in the crusade and it was prominent among the material for the preaching of the Third Crusade.²⁷

In the Scandinavian literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth century the crusade indulgence originally associated with the preaching of The Second Crusade simply stated that the pope promised that the souls of the warriors would be in heaven before their blood turned cold on the ground.²⁸ These words were further used to describe the indulgence gained by the warriors taking part in the civil war in Norway in the 1160's.²⁹ Fighting in return for spiritual merit was a common concept to Scandinavian warriors, at least from the middle of the eleventh century, and the Scandinavian sources also emphasized religious motives for the Danish and Norwegian kings and warriors who took part in the crusades of the twelfth century alongside more worldly motives like honour and vengeance.³⁰ The wish to heal the internal wounds, as the Icelandic scald Markus Skeggjason described the motives for King Erik Ejegod [the good] (1095–1103), mattered as much to the Scandinavian warriors as it did to knights everywhere else in Europe. We know that the Second Crusade was preached, that people took the cross in this connection, and that the papal bulls of Pope Eugenius III and the preaching letters of Bernard of Clairvaux very likely were known and used in Denmark especially when the Second Crusade was turned against the heathen Wends.³¹

27 Skovgaard-Petersen, *A Journey*, 37–43.

28 *Knyttlinga saga*, in *Danakonunga sögur. Skjöldunga saga, Knyttlinga saga, Ágrip af sögu danakonunga*, ed. B. Guðnason (Reykjavík, 1982), 273 [91–321], tr. *Knyttlinga saga. The History of the Kings of Denmark*, tr. H. Pálsson and P. Edwards (Odense, 1986), 147.

29 *Sverres saga: En tale mot biskopene*, tr. A. Holtsmark (Oslo, 1986), 67–69. These ideas are further expressed in Canon 2 of *Canones Nidrosiensis*, which is closely linked to Archbishop Eystein. Here it states that those who die while they fight 'faithfully for the defense of peace and the safety of the fatherland, they shall attain the heavenly kingdom,' quoted from H. Antonsson, 'Some Observations on Martyrdom in Post-Conversion Scandinavia,' *Saga-Book* 28 (2004), 79–82, 88–89 [70–94]. Cf. J.M. Jensen, 'The Second Crusade,' 177–80.

30 Cf. The debate in A. Nedkvitne, 'Why Did Medieval Norsemen Go on Crusade?,' in *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. T.M.S. Lehtonen and K.V. Jensen with J. Malkki and K. Ritari (Helsinki, 2005), 37–50.

31 J.M. Jensen, 'Denmark and the First Crusades. The Impact of Crusade Ideology in Scandinavia in the First Half of the Twelfth Century,' *Nordic Historical Review*, 4 (2007), 82–100.

Even if the papal legate was not carrying *Audita tremendi*, it must have been known in Denmark at a very early date, most likely also to the author of *Historia de projectione*. At the turn of the thirteenth century *Audita tremendi* was being copied at the monastery of Neumünster in Holstein together with a crusade sermon written by Bernard of Clairvaux for the second crusade: *Sermo mihi ad uos de negotio Christi* (letter 363).³² In the manuscript – which contains several letters concerning Danish affairs – it is directly related to the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 and Pope Gregory VIII's call for a crusade by a contemporary heading. These letters thus very likely provides us with the basic texts actually used in Denmark. At least the author of *Historia de projectione Danorum* did in fact appear to have known and quoted Bernard's letter.³³

The version of *Audita tremendi* from Holstein was not known to either A. Croust or Ursula Scwherin who edited the *Historia de expeditione Friderici* and the papal crusade encyclicals including *Audita tremendi* respectively.³⁴ There are in fact minor if at times important differences between the Neumünster version and the edited version by Croust. For instance, the pope appears much less paralyzed at the introduction in the Neumünster version than in the printed version of the bull. And there are several other similar differences that, as pointed out by Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, according to a brief look in the critical apparatus, find support in other versions that were not chosen as the standard version by Croust.³⁵

The preaching of the cross in Denmark thus should be seen as part of or parallel to the preaching campaign that was launched by the papal legate Henry of Albano early in 1188 in Germany, France, and Flanders.³⁶ It is difficult to imagine the preachers stopping at the borders of the Danish realm or that the preaching campaigns should not have been coordinated event if this cannot be stated with certainty. All we can say is that the crusade was preached and that it apparently was according to authoritative texts. These texts clearly formed the background for the composition of the work *Historia de profec-*

32 MS Copenhagen, The Royal Library, GkS 1571 4^o, fols 206v-209v; Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, 'Fra Jerusalem til Holsten – en pavelig korstogsopfordring i et holstensk håndskrift fra o. 1200,' *Magasin fra det Kongelige Bibliotek*, 17 (2004), 49–55. For Bernard's letter, I have conferred with the standard edition and the translation in *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, tr. B.S. James, 2nd edn (London, 1953; repr. 1998), 460–63.

33 Skovgaard-Petersen, *A Journey*, 29–30.

34 Skovgaard-Petersen, 'Fra Jerusalem til Holsten,' 51.

35 Skovgaard-Petersen, 'Fra Jerusalem til Holsten,' 54–55.

36 P.J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 65–71; Y. Congar, 'Henri de Marcy, abbé de Clairvaux, cardinal-évêque d'Albano et légat pontifical,' *Analecta Monastica* 5 (Studia Anselmiana, 43; Roma, 1958), 1–90.

tion, which in the words of Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, should be considered part of the European crusade literature produced in support of or as a result of the events of the Third Crusade both the chronicles and the official letters and encyclicals of the pope and other high ranking ecclesiastics. It was written to show that the expedition was a real crusade, perhaps as a kind of *Ehrungsrettung*, since the participants did in fact not reach the Holy Land in time for the actual fighting. That in turn, however, underlines that the nobles took crusading very seriously and that the themes were important to the knights who participated in a crusade.

Liturgical and Visual Support for Preaching the Crusade

The preaching of the cross was probably further supported in Denmark by murals – wall-paintings – picturing fighting warriors and the church's demonstration of its approval of the holy war through images of bishops consecrating the banners of the knights and sending warriors to the East known from a number of Danish churches. It is difficult to date these images precisely but art historians are certain that they belong to the last decades of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth. Lise Gotfredsen has underlined that the context points to contemporary fighting in the East rather than Biblical events and scenes. The bishop of Børglum was present at the Christmas court in 1187 and most likely had his church adorned with images after his return in support of the preaching campaign.³⁷ At least it would be obvious to see a connection between the murals and the preaching of the crusade. In some of the churches, a great battle before a huge castle or city is shown in the murals. This is usually interpreted as Jerusalem but others have pointed to the siege of Acre as a possible actual background to the scene.³⁸ It is, of course, very likely that both images would have come to the minds of the knights familiar with stories of crusading in general and Danish participation at the siege of Acre.

During the twelfth century and especially after the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187, a specific crusade liturgy was created that developed all through the Middle Ages beside the visual support for preaching the crusade. It has

37 L. Gotfredsen, '... og jorden skælver, da de rider frem,' *Århus Stift*, 21 (1983), 79–99; L. Gotfredsen and H.J. Frederiksen, *Troens Billeder. Romansk kunst i Danmark*, 2nd edn (København, 2003), 234–41; O. Norn, *At se det usynlige. Mysteriekult og ridderidealer* (København, 1982), 66–71. For a Swedish example, see V. Hernfjäll, 'Ryttarstriden i Edåsa. Ett minne från korstågstiden?', *ICO. Iconographisk Post*, 2 (1992), 13–17.

38 L. Søderstrøm, 'Kampen om borgen,' *ICO. Iconographisk Post*, 1 (1991), 1–8.

been investigated by Amnon Linder, who argues that 'Liturgy was one of the main forms of action that Europe embraced in its endeavour to liberate the Holy Land.'³⁹ The crusade was to be supported by entire congregations through penance and prayer. Gregor VIII prescribed various forms of penance for five years to 'avert God's anger and promote a new crusade.'⁴⁰ He ordered 'publicas orationes' in all churches.⁴¹ Clement III continued this policy and prescribed prayer 'sine intermissione' for the crusade. Arnold of Lübeck and Roger of Howden described how Clement send letters to all churches, monasteries and parishes and admonished to celebrate 'orationes publicas in canone' based on Psalm 78: 'Oh God, the heathens are come into thy inheritance, they have defiled thy holy temple.'⁴² He further instructed the clergy in Canterbury to say unceasing prayers and to preach the crusade energetically, encourage to do penance and announce other instructions in connection with the crusade.⁴³

The papal register of Clement is lost so we do not have a similar bull preserved for Denmark, but based on the preaching campaign of the Danish king and church and the murals it is difficult to imagine that something similar did not take place in Denmark, at least in the Cistercian monasteries. Between 1193 and 1197, five liturgical regulations were agreed by the general chapter, which show that they used particular prayers for the Holy Land even before 1193 and that these were used both during the officium and mass.⁴⁴ This the Cistercians must have done also in Denmark. From the end of the twelfth century the convent gathered in church after the chapter meeting to say the penitential and other prayers. The subject was often the liberation of the Holy Land and for the same reason a special prayer was said as a part of the daily mass in honour of

39 Linder, *Raising Arms*. Cf. also J. France, 'The Text of the Account of the Capture of Jerusalem in the Ripoll Manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale (Latin) 5132,' *English Historical Review*, 103 (1988), 640–657; Cole, *Preaching*; C.T. Maier, 'Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross: Innocent III and the Relocation of the Crusade,' in *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. J.C. Moore (Aldershot, 1999), 351–60.

40 PL 202: 1539–42; *Burchardi et Cuonradi Urspergensium chronicon*, ed. O. Abel and L. Weiland, MGH SS 23: 337–383, 361. Cf. Linder, *Raising Arms*, 1–3.

41 *Chronica Andrensis*, ed. J. Heller, MGH SS 24: 684–773, 719.

42 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols., RS 51 (London, 1868–71), 2: 359–60; Arnold of Lybeck, *Chronica Sclavorum*, ed. E. Lappenberg, MGH SS 21: 100–250, 169–70; Linder, *Raising Arms*, 2. Psalm 78 is quoted in a way in *Historia de Profectione*, that suggests that this also happened in Denmark, *Historia de profectione Danorum*, 464.

43 Ralph de Diceto, *Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., RS 68 (London, 1876), vol. 2, 132–35. Cf. Linder, *Raising Arms*, 8–12.

44 Linder, *Raising Arms*, 2–3, 26–27, 98–100.

the Virgin Mary.⁴⁵ A century later, the bishop of Skalholt on Iceland, Árni Þorláksson, preached the crusade all over Iceland, with the assistance of some of hand picked priests, according to the decisions taken at the council of Lyons in 1274, as described in *Árna saga biskups*.⁴⁶ There is then nothing to suggest that the preaching of the cross in Denmark should not have been supported by special liturgical measures as instructed by the pope. And apparently it worked.

The Response to the Preaching of the Third Crusade

The response to the preaching of the Third Crusade was massive. Among the original 15 who took the cross at the Christmas court in 1187, however, only five sat out in 1191 on four ships first to Norway, where they spend time in Tønsberg and Bergen, meeting with the Norwegian contingent of 200 men. Due to quarrels between the groups – it had something to do with some women and a lot of drinking – they ended up going to Jerusalem in two separate groups. The Danish ships, however, were abandoned on the Frisian coast after a violent storm in the North Sea where one ship was lost and several people drowned. The survivors continued over land but only reached the Holy Land after the peace of September 1192 between Richard and Saladin. They then visited the holy places and went home.⁴⁷

Others, however, arrived in time and distinguished themselves in battle like the Danish fleet that took part in the siege of Acre in 1189–91, according to the anonymous Templar author of *Itinerarium peregrinorum*. When the Danish crusaders arrived at the siege of Acre, he continued, they set up camp between the city and the Turks and used their ‘indomitable’ strength to the destruction of the enemy not as much as in several attacks but rather as in one continuous assault against the walls. Their extravagant courage and contempt of life made

45 H. Johansson, *Ritus cisterciensis. Studier i de svenska cisterciensklostrens liturgi*, Bibliotheca Theologiae Practicae, 18 (Lund, 1964), 185.

46 *Biskupa sögur*, ed. G.Á. Grímsdóttir, 3 vols. in 4, Íslenzk fornrit, 15–17 (Reykjavík, 1998–2003), 3: 50–51; *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo, 3rd edn (Bologna, 1973), 309–11. Árni had not been at Lyons, but the bishop of Holar, Jörundr Þorsteinsson, was present together with Archbishop Jon II of Trondheim. As soon as Jörundr returned to Iceland in 1275 with the statutes of the council and papal letters, Árni began to preach the cross. According to *Árna saga* the preaching and the liturgical measures also applied mattered greatly.

47 See *Historia de profectioe Danorum*. Cf. Skovgaard-Petersen, *A Journey*, 11–13.

them suffer so many perils and trials so often, that when the city fell barely 100 of the original 12.000 were still alive.⁴⁸

The siege was a bloody and prolonged experience, but still more crusaders turned up. Other fleets had set sail from English and North German towns and helped Sancho I conquer Silves on their way to the Holy Land.⁴⁹ Further, a fleet from Denmark arrived, according to *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, led by a *nepos* of Knud VI with 400 men.⁵⁰ It is not entirely clear whether this contingent is the same as the one which was mentioned as leading the Nordic fleet, but based on the context it might appear as if the chronicler speaks of two different groupings.

Danish and Norwegians historians have speculated who this very close relative of the Danish king who led a crusading army to the Holy Land could have been.⁵¹ They have focused on the several possible candidates known from a strange list of nobles of the realm grouped into confraternities in districts around the kingdom that some have even suggested might have something to do with the crusades of the Danish king in the Baltic as a kind of crusade confraternity.⁵² This we will never be able to know for certain. The candidates from the list are some of the members of the royal family mentioned as forming two the confraternities on Sjælland, who are also mentioned in the *Historia de profectione*. But as the text clearly stated that the Danish crusaders mentioned in the *Historia de Profectione* came too late for the actual fighting it creates a chronological problem that would then have to be explained away. However, there exists the distinct possibility that the royal *nepos* might in fact be the founder of Nyborg Castle, Knud Prislavsén. He founded Nyborg Castle in the 1170's and died between 1188, when he disappears from the sources, and before the king took possession of the castle no later than 1193. *Nepos* can mean nephew, cousin, or simply close relative and Knud was indeed a close relative of the Danish king. He was the son by a Christian Wendish lord and the sister of King Valdemar the Great (1157–1181). He was thus the nephew of King

48 *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, 1.27, 309; *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 74.

49 *Narratio itineris navalis ad Terram sanctam*, ed. A. Croust in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Friedrichs*, 179–196; Ralph de Diceto, *Opera*, vol. 2: 65–66; Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 49 (London, 1867), 89–90.

50 *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, 1.31, 317; *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 82.

51 Vandvik, *Om skriftet De Profectione*, 4–5. Cf. K. Skovgaard-Petersen, 'Om korstogsberetningen De profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam (ca. 1200), in *Broderliste, broderskab, korstog. Bidrag til opklaringen af en gåde fra dansk højmiddelalder*, ed. J.M. Jensen (Odense, 2006), 237–45.

52 See the articles in *Broderliste, broderskab, korstog. Bidrag til opklaringen af en gåde fra dansk højmiddelalder*, ed. J.M. Jensen (Odense, 2006).

Valdemar I and cousin of King Knud VI. It is impossible to state with any certainty that it was him who led a fleet to Acre.⁵³ He is, however, the only known possible candidate so far discussed whose presence is not contradicted by any of the sources. It nevertheless means that a number of crusaders from Denmark arrived at the siege of Acre and played an important role in its fall.

It is more difficult to estimate the impact of the preaching campaign more generally. But by taking part in the crusade liturgy and listening to crusade sermons the entire congregations of the Danish population was involved. In England lists of *cruce signati* from the common people has been preserved. A list from Lincolnshire from around 1197 records the locals who had taken the cross and how arrangements were made to commute the crusading vows if it was deemed unrealistic to fulfil them.⁵⁴ A further list of all the people who had taken the cross in Cornwall in connection with the preaching of the Third Crusade exists. It names 43 crusaders, amongst whom were a tailor, a blacksmith, a shoemaker, a forester, a merchant, a miller, two tanners and two women.⁵⁵ It reveals how deep into society crusading appealed and it probably reflects a similar reality in Denmark, which we, however, cannot prove from the sparse source material from this period.⁵⁶ This indicates that a large number of persons must have made the necessary preparations to go on crusade.

The *Historia de profectione* offers some insights to the enormous sums and preparations needed in order to take part in a crusade from Scandinavia. The fifteen nobles met to plan the crusade, including building the ships on which to sail as 'the matter was very complicated and demanded thorough council

53 Cf. J.M. Jensen, 'Knuds glemte korstog. En ny historie om Nyborg Slots grundlægger,' *Nyborg – før og nu*, 13 (2010), 7–15.

54 Cf. the somewhat later regulations and instructions how to do this in *Registrum Ricardi de Swinfeld episcopi Herefordensis AD 1283–1317*, ed. W.D. Capes (London, 1909), 78–79; *The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1280–1299*, ed. R.M.T. Hill, 8 vols. (Hereford, 1948–86), 3:157–59; *Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1881) appendix 1, 345.

55 *Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1876), appendix, 462. Cf. C.J. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago, 1988); C.J. Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade* (London, 2015), 158–65.

56 Several names are mentioned in the memorial books from the cathedral in Lund of Danish crusaders and/or pilgrim to the Holy Sepulchre as well as two 'illustres laici' who died signed with the cross among the Wends, *Libri memoriales capituli Lundensis: Lunde Domkapitels Gavebøger*, ed. C. Weeke (København, 1884–1889; repr. 1973). Cf. Riant, *Skandinavernes korstog*, 420–21.

and great resources as they could achieve nothing individually but only by large retinues.⁵⁷

When Jarl Rognvald and the Norwegian noble Erling Skakke went on crusade in 1148 the preparations, including the constructions of ships, were planned to last for two winters. These massive investments make the mutual vows and agreements made between the crusaders in other areas more easily understandable. They underline the need for the new financial initiatives taken from the time of the Third Crusade, including new forms of taxation, exemptions from paying tax while being a *cruce signati*, and the possibility of taking part in the crusade effort by pious donations according to your status and income which all in all much have made the crusade a part of everyday life also in Denmark.

Scandinavian Crusade Literature

Karen Skovgaard-Petersen has argued that *Historia de profectione* should be seen as a part of the Latin crusade literature that developed during the twelfth century in Europe. In addition, common crusading themes, that would have inspired contemporary crusaders at the time of the Third Crusade in Scandinavia, appear to have influenced the saga literature. As all of the sagas were written around 1200 and only preserved in somewhat later copies it is difficult to say exactly when the crusading themes became part of the stories. But in light of the impact of crusade ideology and the participation of Scandinavians in crusades to the Holy Land all through the twelfth century, it is difficult to imagine that it was a brand new concept introduced by the Third Crusade. Many of the crusading themes found in *Historia de profectione* written in Latin are thus to be found in the vernacular sources of Scandinavia.

Karen Skovgaard-Petersen demonstrated for instance that the construction of the speech and the way that Esbern referred to the deeds of the forefathers was parallel to the way the chroniclers of the first crusade referred to the deeds of Charlemagne in his wars for the faith.⁵⁸ Several such speeches are known from the Scandinavian source material that are directly linked to the stories of Charlemagne and his peers. For instance, the speech by Archbishop Asser of Lund before the battle of Fotevik in 1131 according to *Knytlinga saga*, resembles the imaginary speech by Archbishop Turpin before the battle of Roncesvalle

⁵⁷ *Historia de Profectione*, 467; *Beretning om danernes færd*, 135.

⁵⁸ Skovgaard-Petersen, *A Journey*, 37–43.

(in 778) as rendered in the *Song of Roland*.⁵⁹ The stories of the deeds of Charlemagne and his peers, including the *Song of Roland*, were translated into Old Norse as part of the *Karlamagnus saga* slightly before the turn of the thirteenth century. In the Middle High German literature of the second half of the twelfth century, Charlemagne's wars of conquest on the eastern border of his realm were described as proto-crusades. Both Emperor Frederik Barbarossa and Henry the Lion compared themselves to Charlemagne in his role as a champion of the faith. Frederik Barbarossa in the hagiographic material produced for the canonization of Charlemagne in 1165, and Henry the Lion in the great German *Rolandslied* written to highlight his own princely ideology and present his wars in the Wendish areas in a crusading light. It is, therefore, not surprising to find these ideas expressed in the Scandinavian sources too – both in the vernacular and in Latin.⁶⁰

Relics were carried to war as well. The relic of the true cross that Sigurd Jorsalafarer had been given by the patriarch of Jerusalem to advance Christianity at his own borders was carried to war in Norway by the different contestants for the crown in the 1130's.⁶¹ In *Karlamagnus saga* it is described how archbishop Turpin carried another relic of the true cross to war against the heathen Saxons and made the enemy succumb wherever it was presented at the battlefield against the heathen King Agulandus. In the end Turpin could not restrain himself, handed the relic over to the pope – also present – drew his sword and threw himself into the battle. He was a mighty clerk, as the saga stated.⁶²

Some skaldic verses with theological contents by the Benedictine abbot Nicolás of Munkethvera, who visited Jerusalem at the time of the Second Crusade, have been preserved. They describe following in the footsteps of Christ in a Christian context and have a literary background whose themes are

59 *Knýtlinga saga*, 260, tr. *Knýtlinga saga*, 138. Cf. J.M. Jensen, 'King Erik Emune (1134–1137) and the Crusades. The Impact of Crusading Ideology in Early Twelfth-Century Denmark,' in *Cultural Encounters during the Crusades*, ed. K.V. Jensen, K. Salonen and H. Vogt (Odense, 2013), 91–104, at 97–98.

60 Cf. for references J.M. Jensen, 'Sclavorum Expugnator: Conquest, Crusade and Danish Royal Ideology in the Twelfth Century,' *Crusades*, 2 (2003), 55–81.

61 See Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, ed. B. Aðalbjarnarson, 3 vols. (Reykjavík, 1979), vol. 3: 254, 257–58, 275–95. Tr. Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, tr. L.M. Hollander (Austin, 2005), 698–99, 701, 714–30. Cf. J.M. Jensen, 'Erik Emune,' 99–100.

62 *Karlamagnús saga ok kappá hans*, ed. B. Vilhjálmsson, 3 vols., 2nd edn (Akureyri, 1961), 4.63, 4.69, 4.72, tr. *Karlamagnús saga. The Saga of Charlemagne and his Heroes*, tr. C.B. Hieatt, 3 vols. (Toronto, 1975–80), 2: 320–22, 369, 373–75, 397–401.

central in the crusading literature.⁶³ The skaldic poetry of Jarl Rognval from his crusade in the early 1150's indicates close knowledge of some of the finer aspects of the theological aspects of killing in God's war, and it has been suggested recently by Peter Foote that crusade ideology played an important background to the composition of the entire saga around 1200.⁶⁴

Rognval and his men clearly were consciously following in the foot-steps of Sigurd Jorsalafarer and his crusade in 1107–11 as it is described more briefly in both *Heimskringla* and *Morkinskinna* from the first decades of the thirteenth centuries.⁶⁵ It included sailing to Jerusalem, fighting in Spain, fighting in the Mediterranean, visiting Jerusalem, and going to Constantinople. As the descriptions of both crusades were written down late, we cannot be absolutely sure if the stories actually influenced each other.⁶⁶ The very similar outlines of the stories must nevertheless mean – rather than simply being dismissed as untrustworthy – that during the twelfth century what could almost be termed a kind of literary crusade saga-style had emerged.

The influence of crusade ideology in the saga literature undoubtedly also shaped the stories told of Scandinavian heroes even before the First Crusade. Notable examples are the well-known stories of the Harald Hardrada, who went into the service of the Byzantine emperor and fought in Syria, Greece and the Holy Land under the *nom-de-guerre* Norðbrikt, and later fell at Stamford Bridge in an attempt to claim his hereditary right to the English crown. The stories of his exploits were told in skaldic verses from the middle of the eleventh century. However, when they were written down in a narrative setting in, for instance, *Morkinskinna* (ca. 1220) – the earliest of the King's sagas – his deeds are cast in context of the crusades. Harald travelled from Sicily to Jerusalem 'desiring to atone for his transgressions against God.' According to the skaldic verses of Stúfr, who claimed to have heard it from Harald personally, Harald 'the sword keen warrior set out from Greece to subjugate Palestine.' Everywhere he went in the territory around Jerusalem, cities and fortifications

63 J.M. Jensen, 'En islandske vejviser,' 289–91.

64 P. Foote, 'Observations in Orkneyinga saga,' in *St. Magnus Cathedral and Orkney's Twelfth Century Renaissance*, ed. Barbara E. Crawford (Aberdeen, 1988), 192–207. Cf. J.M. Jensen, 'The significance of crusading.'

65 Cf. G.B. Doxey, 'Norwegian Crusaders and the Balearic Islands,' *Scandinavian Studies* 68 (1996), 139–60 and the commentary in Theodoricus Monachus, *An Account of the Ancient History of the Norwegian Kings*, tr. D. McDougall and I. McDougall with an introduction by P. Foote (London, 1998), 113–14.

66 For instance pointed out by M.C. Ross to R.W. Unger, 'The Northern Crusaders: the logistics of English and other Northern Crusader fleets,' in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. John H. Pryor (Aldershot, 2006), 251–273, at 251 n. 2.

surrendered to his authority. He then went on to bathe in the River Jordan 'as is the custom among pilgrims':

He contributed to the sepulchre of our Lord and the holy cross and other relics in Jerusalem. He gave so much money in gold that no one can calculate the amount. At that time he secured all the way to the River Jordan and killed the robbers and other brigands.⁶⁷

This was of course going to be one of the main duties of the Templars and the story presented in *Morkinskinna* is clearly influenced by crusading ideology.⁶⁸ According to the skaldic verses of Arnorr, which describes the travels of Harald, he fought the enemies of God in the Greece and Palestine. Harald is thus a proto-crusader very likely to have inspired the Scandinavian warriors to take the cross in the twelfth century.

Numerous crusading commonplaces are found in saga texts. The chronicles of the first crusade often describe how armies of knights clad in white fought in front of the crusading armies or appeared at crucial stages turning threatening defeat into victory. When Harald Hadrada sailed to the battle of Stiklestad it appeared as if white angels went before the ships.⁶⁹

In the course of the twelfth century, stories of how the Norwegian St Olav fought against the Muslims in the Holy Land began to circulate and he became a patron saint for the Varangians. According to the *Legendary saga* of Olav, 'knights of God' appeared miraculously and fought for him while raiding in France.⁷⁰ In the second miracle collection of the Icelandic saint Bishop Thorlak, gathered around 1198,⁷¹ a miracle also reports how he gave victory to a

67 *Morkinskinna*, ed. F. Jónsson (København, 1932), 69–88; *Morkinskinna. The Earliest Icelandic Chronicle of the Norwegian Kings (1030–1157)*, tr. with an introduction and notes by T.M. Andersson and K.E. Gade, *Islandica* 51 (Ithaca, 2000), 139–51. Cf. *Fagrskinna. A Catalogue of the Kings of Norway*, tr. with an introduction and notes by A. Finlay, *The Northern World* 7 (Leiden, 2004), 182–92, esp. 188.

68 Bernard of Clairvaux's work *In Praise of the New Knighthood* was well-known in Scandinavia and influenced the ideology of the warrior elite, see B. Bandlien, 'A New Norse Knighthood? The Impact of the Templars in Late Twelfth-century Norway,' in *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. T.M.S. Lehtonen and K.V. Jensen with J. Malkki and K. Ritari, *Studia Fennica. Historica* 9 (Helsinki, 2005), 175–84.

69 D. Whaley, *The Poetry of Arnórr jarlaskáld. An Edition and Study*, Westfield Publications in Medieval Studies, 8 (Turnhout, 1998), 118.

70 *Die 'Legendarische saga' über Olaf den Heiligen*, ed. A. Heinrichs et al. (Heidelberg, 1982). Cf. for crusading themes in this source B. Bandlien, 'Olavskrigere og Jomsvikinger. Norske broderskap omkring 1200,' in *Broderliste, Broderskab, Korstog. Bidrag til opklaringen af en gåde fra Danmarks højmiddelalder*, ed. J.M. Jensen (Odense, 2006), 183–200.

71 *Biskupa sögur*, vol. 1/1, 333–56

contingent of Varangians against the heathens.⁷² These stories had begun to circulate in Norway from the time of the Second Crusade when St Knud Lavard in Denmark, who was the father of King Valdemar the Great (1157–1182) and thus the grandfather of Knud VI, was promoted as a kind of crusader saint.⁷³ It shows that the common crusading themes were not simply copied but adapted to meet the specific political and national agendas in Scandinavia and Denmark. The Third Crusade was never turned against the heathens in the Baltic as happened on the Second Crusade, but there are signs of increased missionary activity in 1188 and campaigns were launched by Knud VI in the early 1190's pointing to the future conquest of Estonia in the first decades of the thirteenth century, which probably should be placed within the context of the preaching of the Third Crusade. But that would bring us beyond the scope of the present study.⁷⁴

We thus have a literature familiar not only with crusading ideology and rhetoric, but also common crusading themes known from the crusading chronicles, from the time of the Third Crusade, that was deliberately used to forward specific crusading programmes. It means that the *Historia de profectione* does not stand alone, but rather is but one reflection of a much more common knowledge of the idea of crusading and its impact in Denmark at the time of the Third Crusade. We cannot, of course, say that this became part of the sagas before they were written down, but it existed at least when they were written down towards the end of the twelfth century. Rather than being a result of the Third Crusade, my contention is that this literature in itself is an expression of how crusading commonplaces had become part of a Scandinavian literature directed at a knightly audience long before the preaching of the Third Crusade and partly explains the huge response to which the sources bear witness.

Conclusion

Crusading was a well-established tradition in Denmark by the time of the Third Crusade. The preaching campaign then launched appears to have been based on material already introduced in connection with the Second Crusade.

72 These examples are all mentioned in G. Turville-Petre, *Origins of Icelandic Literature* (Oxford, 1953; repr. 1975), 153–57, 176–77, 210–11.

73 K.V. Jensen, 'Denmark and the Second Crusade: The Formation of a Crusader State?', in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. J. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), 164–79.

74 Cf. J.H. Lind, C.S. Jensen, K.V. Jensen and A.L. Bysted, *Danske korstog – krig og mission i Østersøen*, 2nd edn (København, 2006). English tr. *Jerusalem in the North: Denmark and the Baltic Crusades 1100–1522* (Turnhout, 2012).

However, the scale of the preaching of the Third Crusade put it in a new setting, visually and liturgically to such an extent that it came to have a profound influence in the succeeding decades. The *Historia de profectione* is but one example of a crusade literature that appears after 1191, which includes the rich saga material that still needs to be thoroughly investigated from this perspective. The murals are but one still visible sign of the effect of the preaching of the Third Crusade and the impact of the siege of Acre even in the distant north. But whether this impression is due to the sources produced after 1191 or these sources actually tells us something about the entire century should be a concern for future studies with general implications for crusading studies. However, the evidence suggests that crusading was deeply rooted in Danish and Scandinavian societies when Jerusalem fell to Saladin in 1187. The crusade was preached according to authoritative texts in a well organized preaching campaign supported by liturgical measures and visually by murals painted in the church. The entire population was involved in the spiritual crusade and in preparing and equipping the crusading fleets and some definitely took the cross. The massive response to the preaching of the Third Crusade, however innovative some of the liturgical measures were and how well-organized the preaching campaign was, is evidence to this tradition of crusading which in the end resulted in the fleets that according to the author of *Itinerarium peregrinorum* played an important role in besieging and capturing Acre in 1191.

New Evidence for Identifying the Site of the Teutonic Compound in Acre

Adrian J. Boas and Georg Philipp Melloni

During the Siege of Acre in 1190–1191 citizens of the German towns of Bremen and Lübeck, remnants of the dismantled army of Frederick Barbarossa's aborted contingent to the Third Crusade, built a field hospital outside the city walls, using the sails of their cogs to make tents. In October, 1190, Frederick, duke of Swabia, placed the hospital and its resources in the hands of his chaplain Conrad and his chamberlain, Burchard. Following the reoccupation of the city, this community of laymen developed into a brotherhood that came to be known as the Teutonic Order. Linking their new establishment to the xenodochion of Sancta Maria Alemannorum of Jerusalem, they took on the name, the Teutonic Hospital of St. Mary in Jerusalem. The 'House of the Germans' (*domus Alemannorum*) in Jerusalem with its church, Sancta Maria Alemannorum, had been established early in the twelfth century by a German philanthropic couple with the aim of caring for pilgrims of German tongue. This earlier establishment was first mentioned in a document dating to 1148 but it already had been in existence for some time. Until the fall of Jerusalem to Salah ad-Din in October 1187, the German house was under the custody of the Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

The relationship between the Jerusalem establishment and the new institution that was founded at Acre has been a somewhat controversial issue. Whereas, in the past it was believed that there was a connection between the Jerusalem establishment and the brotherhood set up in Acre, today it is believed that this claim merely reflects the economic interests of the newly established order in Acre.¹ By means of this connection the brothers hoped to

* This paper is a summary of the results of archaeological work carried out a decade and a half ago. We are grateful to B.Z. Kedar and R. Khamisy for information provided. A full publication of the excavations will be published as a monograph.

1 Cf. especially the discussion in M.-L. Favreau, *Studien zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (= Kieler Historische Studien 21) (Stuttgart, 1974) (Diss., Kiel, 1972), 95ff; and 'Alle origini dell'Ordine Teutonico: continuità o nuova fondazione dell'ospedale gerosolimitano degli Alemanni?', in E. Coli, M. De Marco, F. Tommasi (eds.), *Militia Sacra. Gli ordini militari tra Europa e Terrasanta* (Perugia, 1994), 29–43.

lay their hands on the possessions of the older house, in particular its landed property in Germany. In the long run the Teutonic Order appears to have been successful in its efforts at identifying with the older Jerusalem establishment and it is regarded as connected to the House of the Germans in Jerusalem up to this day.²

The German brotherhood remained under the shadow of the two great knightly orders; the Hospitaller Order of the Knights of St. John and the Order of the Knights of the Temple.³ This situation was to be improved through the patronage of the royal house of Hohenstaufen. As a result the German hospital in Acre began to play an important role and the hospice brotherhood was turned into a clerical knightly order in the year 1198. The new Military Order was to follow the Rule of the Knights of St. John concerning the care of the poor and sick and the Rule of the Templars concerning its knightly duties.

With the sudden death of Emperor Henry VI on September 28, 1197 the support of the Hohenstaufen seemed to have weakened.⁴ However, the crucial development came during the rule of the fourth master of the Teutonic Order, Hermann von Salza (1209–1239). He was able to maintain close relations with the emperor as well as with the pope and knew how to act as an agent between the two powers. He succeeded in gaining their support for the order in the Holy Land as well as in Europe.⁵ In a very short time the Teutonic Order became an international movement carrying considerable political weight. The core of its identity remained the Holy Land.

Aided by Hermann von Salza, Frederick II with considerable acumen in his negotiations with the Egyptian ruler al-Malik al-Kamil, managed to regain

2 This is reflected in its name: *Ordo fratrum domus hospitalis Sanctae Mariae Teutonicorum in Jerusalem* (Order der Brüder vom Deutschen Haus Sankt Mariens in Jerusalem). The remains of the church of S. Maria Alemannorum and the adjacent administrative building and hospital/hospice was discovered in 1967 and subsequently excavated. Since then it has served the public as an archaeological park in the Jewish quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem. See A. Ovadiah, 'a Crusader Church in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem,' in *Ancient Churches Revealed*, ed. Y. Tsafir (Jerusalem 1993), 136–39.

3 This is apparent in the location of their establishment in a peripheral area close to the eastern wall of the city as can be seen on the medieval maps. See B. Dichter, *The Maps of Acre* (Akko, 1973), 10–30.

4 Peter von Dusburg reports a lack of weaponry, horses, clothing and even food. Hermann von Salza, at the beginning of his rule as master expressed the wish that he have ten armed knights at his disposal at any time (1211). See Peter von Dusburg, *Chronica*, 1, 5 in *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum: die Geschichtsquellen der Preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft*, vol 1, ed. T. Hirsch, M. Töppen, E.G.W. Strehle (Leipzig, 1861), 31.

5 H. Kluger: *Hochmeister Hermann von Salza und Kaiser Friedrich II.: ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (Marburg, 1987).

Christian control of most of Jerusalem and other localities without the need to resort to combat. The Hospitallers and the Templars did not support the emperor who antagonized the latter, not only by negotiating with the enemy but mainly because he accepted that the Temple Mount in Jerusalem (*Haram al-Sharif*) where the Templars previously had their central house, would remain in Muslim hands. On the other hand, the Teutonic Order was granted the twelfth century establishment of S. Maria Alemannorum and the church S. Thomas Alemannorum. Furthermore, it received the royal palace on the *ruga Armeniorum*, a symbolic act and a very prestigious gain for the Order which consolidated their claims.⁶

These gains were part of Hermann von Salza's programme for expansion of the Order based on the conviction that only extensive territorial control could guarantee their continued survival. During his period as Grand Master he tried to realize the establishment of a Teutonic state in five regions of the world. Efforts to establish a state under Teutonic rule in Lesser Armenia, the Peloponnese and in the Burzenland as well as in Upper Galilee had limited success. Of these attempts only the Baltic option came to fruition with the establishment of a Teutonic state in Prussia.

In its attempts at territorial expansion the Teutonic Order resorted variously to the sword, political influence and financial transactions. Whereas the Order took action against the Prussians at the Vistula in battle, it managed through the purchase of landed properties to acquire a large secluded region in the Western Galilee and southern Lebanon during the first half of the thirteenth century. The defeat of the Frankish army at the Horns of Hattin in 1187 and the final loss of Jerusalem in 1244 shattered the belief of many in a prosperous future for the Franks in the Holy Land. Local lords were either financially unable to retain control of their possessions or no longer saw a future in the region and were willing to part with their possessions. Taking advantage of this situation the Teutonic Order purchased land and built castles in the region.⁷

The Holdings of the Teutonic Order in Acre

During the Third Crusade the Franks were only able to recapture a few cities on the coast and parts of the adjacent hinterland. Jerusalem remained in Muslim

6 *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed., L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), 465.

7 On the Teutonic acquisition of lands in the Galilee, see E. Strehlke, *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, (Berlin 1869, reprinted 1975), pp 42–45, nos. 52–54

hands and consequently the ancient seaport of Acre became the capital of the kingdom. Clerical and secular power was now concentrated in the city which continued to develop and strengthen its position as the centre of commercial activity between the Orient and the Occident. Contemporary texts and illustrations locate the property of the Teutonic Order adjacent to the eastern city wall. With the aid of donations the brothers erected their hospital with a church near the Gate of St. Nicholas, thereby creating a base of operations in the city.⁸ The reason for the choice of this location near the city wall may partly have been a desire to build their new house near the place of origin of the order, where they had set up their field hospital during the siege, and perhaps it reflects the political standing of the Germans, compared with the other long-established military orders that possessed large and well-located headquarters. It certainly reflects the fact that at this time there was very little open space available within the city walls. The Teutonic headquarters in Acre was subsequently supplemented with the construction of the castle of Montfort in the foothills about 14 kilometres to the north-east, to which the Grand Master's residence and the archives were moved, but the headquarters in Acre retained administrative functions and maintained the hospital, and pilgrims' facilities.⁹

Following the fall of Montfort in the summer of 1271, the house in Acre continued to function as the principal administrative centre and headquarters of the order in the Latin East until the city fell to Malik al-Ashraf in May, 1291. According to the fourteenth century German pilgrim, Ludolph of Suchem, the entire German community of Acre was wiped out during the Mamluk conquest of the city:

During this confusion the Masters and brethren of the Orders alone defended themselves, and fought unceasingly against the Saracens, until they were nearly all slain; indeed the Master and brethren of the house of the Teutonic Order, together with their followers and friends, all fell dead at one and the same time.¹⁰

8 The location of the German property by the eastern city wall is clear from a clause in the grant of King Guy dated 10 February 1192, requiring that the brothers should not build anything against the town walls or impede access to the wall-head defenses. See Strehlke, 23–24, no. 27; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, ed. R. Röhrich (Innsbruck, 1893), 187, no. 701.

9 Construction of the castle appears to have begun by 1227. On a discussion of the dating, see H.E. Mayer, 'Die Seigneurie de Joscelin und der Deutsche Orden,' in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, eds. Josef Fleckenstein and Hellman Manfred, *Vorträge und Forschungen* 26 (Sigmaringen, 1980), 210–11.

10 Ludolph of Suchem, *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, vol. 12, tr. A. Stewart (London, 1995), 57.

To this Ludolph adds a description of the extensive destruction of the city itself:

After this the Saracens worked for many years endeavouring to utterly subvert and destroy down to their foundations all the walls, towers, castles and palaces, lest the Christians should rebuild them.¹¹

However, at the time of his pilgrimage between 1336 and 1341 there were still substantial remains of the ruined city:

... yet in hardly any place have they [the Saracens] been able to beat them down to the height of a man, but all of the churches, walls, and towers, and very many castles and palaces, remain almost entire....¹²

This state of affairs is clearly illustrated on a panorama drawn during a French reconnaissance mission in 1686, in which substantial ruins can be seen extending across the southern side of the city.¹³ However, subsequent levelling of medieval remains was carried out from the middle of the eighteenth century and into the early nineteenth century, removing virtually all visible traces of the part of Acre outside the new city walls, including the area where the German buildings had been located. Twentieth century development and expansion of the modern town of Akko outside the walls has completed this process. Until recently it was only possible to get an idea of the location and nature of the German holdings of the late twelfth and thirteenth century by examining contemporary and later sources describing this part of the city. Nonetheless these are quite informative. The German crusaders received property in Acre even before the reoccupation of the city. During the siege in September 1190 they were granted by King Guy and Queen Sibylla a house in which to establish a hospital.¹⁴ This house, located just inside the inner eastern city wall near the Gate of St. Nicholas, was formerly held by Armenians. In case it could not be possible to obtain this house when the city was recovered, the grant contained the provision that the Germans would alternatively receive

¹¹ Ibid., 60.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ See B.Z. Kedar, 'The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre,' *Atiqot* 31, 1997, 165, Fig. 7; D. Jacoby, 'Die Kreuzfahrerstadt Akko,' in Mathias Piana, ed., *Burgen und Städte der Kreuzzugszeit* (Petersberg, 2008) 244–45, Abb. 5.

¹⁴ Strehlke, 22–23, no. 25; *RRH*, 185–86, no. 696; Favreau (*Studien zur Frühgeschichte*), 1974, 44.

land adjacent to the Armenian house on which to build their hospital.¹⁵ The words 'sicut strata est *hospitalis Armeniorum*' (Street of the Hospital of the Armenians) indeed appears as one of the borders of the German holdings in the confirmation of their possessions issued by Guy on 10 February, 1192.¹⁶ As it is not recorded after 1192 it seems likely that the former Armenian hospital had indeed come into German hands. Apparently, in addition to the Armenian house, in the area that the German came to possess there was also a property given after the Frankish reoccupation of the city to the brothers of St. Thomas who, like the Germans, had formerly set up a field hospital outside the city during the siege. This English property was located on the northern side of the street leading to the Gate of St. Nicholas. This would place it directly next to, or very close to the Armenian house which is also referred to as adjacent to the eastern city wall near the Gate of St. Nicholas.¹⁷ Unlike the Armenians however, the English brothers retained for the moment their holdings beside those of the Germans. Only when they became a military order in 1227–28 did the brothers of St. Thomas relocate their house to the northern part of Montmusard. This move was probably in part motivated by pressure from the Germans who were expanding and consolidating their own holdings in the eastern part of the old city and continued to do so throughout the thirteenth century. A number of property acquisitions are recorded. These include two grants in 1193: a barbican including towers walls and ditch¹⁸ and a vault built against the wall next to St. Nicholas Gate.¹⁹ A reference in 1194 to a prior of the German church, shows the existence of the church of St. Mary of the Germans.²⁰ In 1198 King Aimery granted the Germans a tower over the Gate of St. Nicholas.²¹ This was probably not the *turris Alemanorum* that appears on the maps of Pietro Vesconte and Paolino Veneto which, on the maps, is somewhat distanced from the gate. On 1 May, 1206 the Germans purchased the house of one John le Tor.²² In August 1217 they received confirmation of properties granted to them outside the city walls and were granted by King John de Brienne the barbican or space between the walls from the Barbican of the Seneschal to the Barbican of Geoffrey le Tor far to the south where the wall reached the bay. The property granted to them in 1193 and extended south in 1217, from the

15 Ibid.

16 Strehlke, 23–24, no. 27; *RRH* 187, no. 701.

17 Ibid., 42.

18 Strehlke, 24–25, no. 28; *RRH*, 191–92, no. 716; Favreau, 1974, 57–59; 1994, 32.

19 Strehlke, 25, no. 29; *RRH*, 190, no. 710.

20 Pringle, 2009, 132; Strehlke, 26, no. 30; *RRH*, 192–93, no. 720; Favreau, 1974, 46, 59; 1994, 37.

21 Strehlke, 28–29, no. 35; *RRH*, 198, no. 744.

22 Strehlke, 33–34, no. 41; *RRH*, 216, no. 812.

Hospitallers' barbican to the Gate of St. Nicholas, possibly reflects an earlier division of the city defences between the various major institutions in the city that was subsequently to change. It may be that prior to the construction of the new walls, which were built, according to David Jacoby, between 1198 and 1212,²³ the Hospitaller section granted to that order by Henry of Champagne in January 1194, extended on the old northern wall from their quarter as far as or near to the north-east corner of the city. When the new wall was built, the Hospitallers took charge of the central section of the outer wall of Montmusard a fair distance away, with the Venetians and possibly the English holding other sections of the outer wall between them and the Germans. This can be seen on the map drawn by Pietro Vesconte and published by Marino Sanudo in c. 1320.²⁴

In April 1229 Frederick II confirmed the purchase by the Germans of a house, and permitted them to link it by a vault to another house in their possession across the street. He also gave them the right to construct buildings in the barbican in their possession (probably meaning within the open space between the inner and outer walls).²⁵ In 1257 the Germans purchased houses near their property from the abbey of St. Mary of Mount Zion.²⁶ In 1273 they purchased a large property south of the citadel as well as houses in the garden in the north-east, and in 1274 they purchased additional houses.²⁷

Outside the city walls the Germans may also have possessed mills and there is even an account of their having constructed an ass-driven mill during the siege in 1189.²⁸ According to Ralph of Diss the order possessed a cemetery outside the eastern city walls that served for burying those who died in the field hospital set up by the knights of Lübeck and Bremen during the siege in 1191.²⁹ This cemetery was where the duke of Swabia was buried after his death on 20

23 See Jacoby, 2005, 100.

24 See map reproduced in Marinus Sanutus, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, facsimile edition of Hanau, 1611 edition (Jerusalem, 1972), 11.

25 Strehlke, 55–56, no. 70; *RRH*, 265, no. 1009.

26 Strehlke, 95–96, no. 113; *RRH*, 331, no. 1262.

27 R. Predelli, 'Le reliquie dell'archivio dell'Ordine Teutonico' in *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 64 (1904–5), 1445–46, no. 64; M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, 'The Teutonic Knights in Acre after the Fall of Montfort (1271): Some Reflections,' in B.Z. Kedar, H.E. Mayer and R.C. Smail (eds.), *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem, presented to Joshua Prawer* (Jerusalem, 1982), 275–84.

28 *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, tr. H.J. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1997), chap. 33, 97.

29 *Radulfi de Diceto decani Landoniensis opera historica = The historical works of Master Ralph de Diceto*, Dean London, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1876) *Rolls Series* 68, vol. II, 81.

January, 1191, according to his wish in an unmarked grave in order to prevent the Hospitallers from burying him in their own cemetery (the Hospitallers were opposed to the Germans burying important nobles in their cemetery). At Damietta on 23 December, 1219 the Bolognese crusader, Barzella Merxadrus drew up his will requesting to be buried in the German cemetery in Acre.³⁰

Excavations of the German Property in Acre

Two seasons of archaeological excavations aimed at locating and uncovering the German possessions in Akko were conducted in 1999 and 2000. These took place several hundred metres east of the Turkish eastern city wall (Fig. 4.1) and were instigated by the Deutscher Orden, conducted by Georg Philipp Melloni (at the time representing the Deutscher Orden in Israel) and Adrian Boas (of the University of Haifa, Department of Archaeology). Until these excavations there had been no archaeological evidence identified with the German hospital. The area chosen was based on the position of the order's buildings on contemporary maps and on the identification of the probable location of the eastern city wall in the thirteenth century as suggested by Benjamin Z. Kedar.³¹

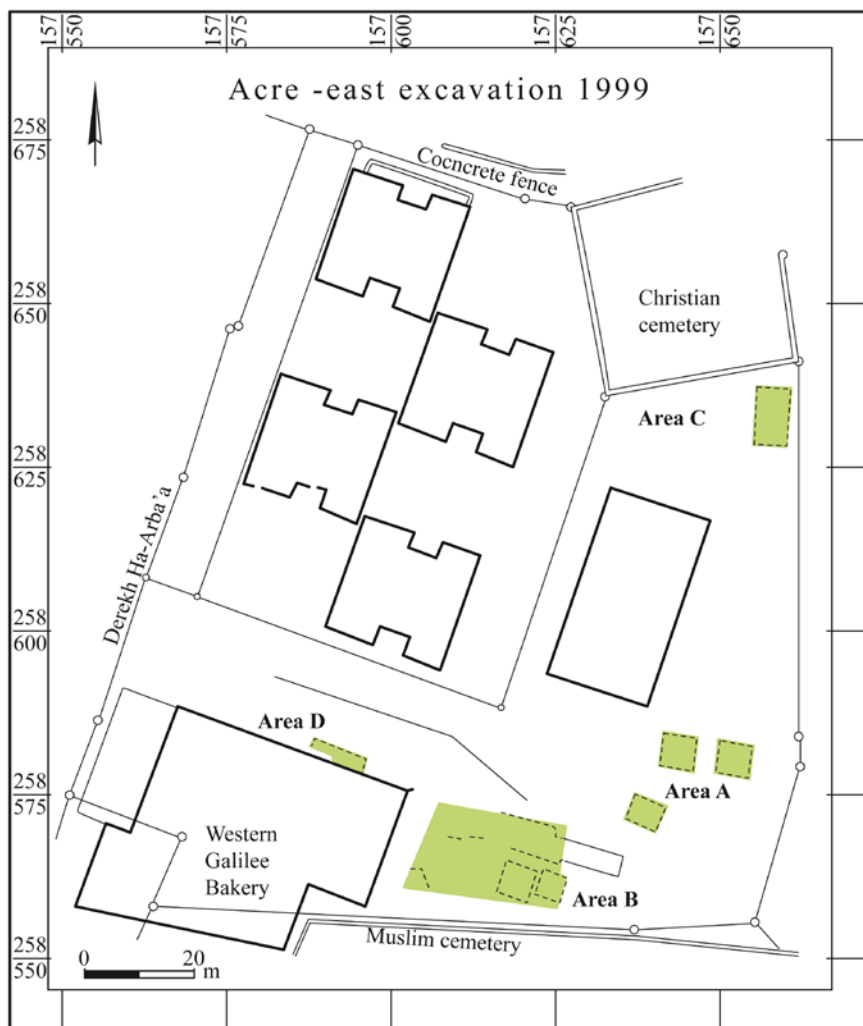
In the 1960s and 70s fragmentary remains of what appeared to have been two monumental medieval structures had been exposed in emergency excavations. One was uncovered on the north-eastern side of the Western Galilee Bakery on Derekh Ha-Arba'ah Street, and was described in a report and correspondence by Ze'ev Goldmann in 1961.³² In a letter dated 24 July, 1961, from the director of the Akko Museum, Dr. Goldmann to Moshe Prausnitz, inspector of the Department of Antiquities, Northern Region, Goldmann wrote:

In the northern yard of the Galilee Bakery next to the turn of the Akko-Nahariya road a trench was excavated to a depth of two and a half metres in order to construct the bakery fuel tank. In the north-west corner of the trench the corner of a monumental building was discovered, three courses of ashlar, each of which measured half a metre high. They were dressed and incised with fine masons' marks. The construction was fine and the joins between the stones could hardly be discerned. The building

30 See *Annali Bolognesi*, vol. II, part II, ed. L.V. Savioli, Bassano, 1789, 419–20; J. Riley-Smith and L. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality 1095–1274*, (London, 1981), 174–75.

31 Kedar, 1997, 157–80, esp. 173–75.

32 Z. Goldmann, IAA 'Akko' File D/1, 24 July and 8 August, 1961 and File of the former Akko Museum No. 102 also in the IAA Archives File 2596 26 July, 1961.

FIGURE 4.1 *Location of excavation site*

is clearly of Crusader date, that is, of the twelfth century. The building is located east of the Patriarchate, part of which was discovered when the first building of the School for Officers was constructed. On the medieval maps of Acre, east of the Patriarchate was the location of the Teutonic Order and it is possible that the corner recorded here belonged to the church of the Teutons.

Goldmann recorded in the same letter that formerly on this site three marble friezes had been discovered and that four additional sculptural pieces were now (1961) in the hands of one of the workers of the bakery. These pieces dated from various periods including the Crusader period. Goldmann considered the discovery of the architectural remains and the sculptural pieces important enough to warrant the concluding remark:

Considering the combined historical and aesthetic importance and the architectural quality of the building, I repeat my previous demand that the department carry out organized excavations of the site.

However, no such excavations were carried out.

In 1974 a second monumental building was excavated by Moshe Dotan at a distance of about 70 metres to the north of Goldmann's excavation.³³ According to Dotan, this was also a monumental structure with a porch on the south with marble facings. This building was evidently destroyed in a conflagration, probably the destruction by al Malik al-Ashraf in 1291.

In his paper discussing the position of Acre's medieval walls, Kedar repeated Goldmann's proposal that one of these buildings could have been the headquarters of the German knights.³⁴ It was on the basis of this suggestion that we chose to locate our efforts in this area. In retrospect, there is an additional piece of evidence supporting this location. In the 1960s Avshalom Zemer, curator of the Museum for Ancient Art in Haifa, found near the western wall of the Protestant cemetery a fragment of a tombstone inscribed with an epitaph of one Isabel de Hana[...].³⁵ Denys Pringle has noted that among the documents of the Teutonic Order's archives in Venice is one dated to 4 August, 1273 relating to a property in the Syrian quarter [sic] of the city; a heritage which was sold for 280 bezants to a certain dame Ysabiau (Lady Isabel).³⁶ This document was discussed by Marie-Louise Favreau-Lilie in a paper published in 1982. Favreau-Lilie suggested that Lady Isabel may have been related to the sellers who were undoubtedly Eastern

33 M. Dotan, 'Akko,' *Israel Exploration Journal* 24, 1974, 277; 'Akko. Excavation Report. First Season, 1973–4,' *BASOR* 224, 1976, 38, Fig. 40.

34 Kedar, 1997, 172.

35 S. de Sandoli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, Pubblicazioni dello Studium Biblicum Franciscanum XXI (Jerusalem, 1994), 306, Fig. 133. See Kedar, 1997, 172–73, Fig. 18.

36 See D. Pringle, 'Notes on Some Inscriptions from Crusader Acre,' in I. Shagrir, R. Ellenblum and J. Riley-Smith (eds), *In Laudem Hierosolymitani. Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar* (Aldershot, 2007), 197–98.

Christians.³⁷ In that case, Pringle suggests, she might be one and the same with the Isabel of the tombstone, and if she died in the German hospital, having bequeathed her property to the order, this would explain the document's presence in the Teutonic archives in Venice. If she had been buried in the German compound or her epitaph had been located there, that would support the identification of the area adjacent to the Franciscan cemetery as the quarter of the Teutonic knights.

Unfortunately, the most promising site available for excavations in the appropriate area was a small plot of ground bounded by two cemeteries, various buildings and paved areas.³⁸ In August-September 1999 and June-July 2000 excavations were carried out by a team of volunteers from Germany, Israel, the United States, Italy and Austria, and by paid workers from Israel.³⁹ The nature of the site with its boundaries and obstructions, while inconvenient, nevertheless allowed a limited space to be marked out for excavations. Four small areas (A, B, C and D, see plan) scattered across the entire available plot, were excavated in the first season. In all areas we were able to observe floors and living surfaces although in none of these was the architecture well-preserved. In the second season excavations concentrated in Area B, now renamed Area I. By expanding the exposed area, joining squares and removing the baulks we were able by the end of the season to uncover most of the remains of two thirteenth century building phases (Fig. 4.2).⁴⁰ Although these buildings covered the entire area excavated in 2000, the extent of destruction in the thirteenth century and in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries made it impossible to define the relationship between these structures. On the basis of these meagre remains, the layout of these buildings is impossible to reconstruct. In addition, the limitations imposed on us by

37 M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, 'The Teutonic Knights in Acre after the Fall of Montfort (1271): Some Reflections,' in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom* (Jerusalem, 1982), 274.

38 The excavation site is located adjacent to and on the eastern side of Derekh Ha-Arba'ah Street, the principal street entering Acre from the south opposite the School for Naval Officers. It is defined to the west by an abandoned building (the Western Galilee Bakery, since dismantled) and by apartment buildings, to the south by a Muslim cemetery, to the east by private houses and a factory and to the north by the Protestant cemetery. A small unnamed street divides the southern part of the area from the north and an asphalt-covered playground is located in the central area.

39 Other than the directors, the staff included Y. Yuval, Y. Shapira and T. Haj Yihye (area supervisors), B. Boaz (administrator and photographer) and S. Stark (surveyor).

40 Unfortunately, at that stage the Deutcher Orden closed its offices in Akko and discontinued its activities in the Holy Land, so that, for the present at least, work on these excavations came to an end.



FIGURE 4.2 *Excavation area 2000* (PHOTOGRAPH BY G.P. MELLONI)

the confines of the excavation area prevented us from knowing their full extent although it is clear that both buildings extended outside of the area available for excavation below the road to the north, the abandoned building to the west and the cemetery to the south. These remains included packed clay and stone floors, fragmentary walls and a sandstone rib section from the Gothic rib-vaulting. Possibly also related to these constructions are numerous iron nails which probably belonged to doors and those parts of the roofing that were not vaulted but supported on wooden beams. The beams did not survive but their existence is evidenced by these nails and by the large quantity of ash found throughout the site.

Evidence for Identifying the Site in Eastern Acre with the Quarter of the Teutonic Order

The aim of this excavation was well-defined from its conception – to try through archaeological excavations to establish whether the area under examination was the quarter of the Order of the Teutonic Knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem. If the site excavated in the two seasons, 1999 and 2000 was indeed the quarter of the German order it would need to have been located within but close to the eastern city walls. The two excavation seasons enabled us to

determine that this area was indeed, as Kedar had suggested, within the medieval city. Intensive building remains, albeit in an extremely ruinous state (Fig. 4.3) and large quantities of ceramic finds including whole vessels, ruled out the possibility that we were outside the thirteenth century walls. Amongst the architectural finds were fragments of Frankish capitals and a single piece of a vault rib. Ceramics and glass finds included, together with residual material dating from the Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic periods, a rich assemblage of local and imported Crusader period wares. Thirteenth century ceramics and coins in the ash layer on the floor, sometimes sealed under the collapsed vaults (apparently evidence of the destruction of 1291), included a gold Hyperperon of Emperor Johannes III Vatatzes (1222–1254). The pottery from both seasons includes large quantities of glazed cooking wares; evidence of the domestic nature of activities in the area. Most of the other vessels are imported wares of thirteenth century date from Cyprus, Italy and northern Syria and some local course wares; jugs, storage jars, unglazed bowls of a type known as 'Acre Bowls' and sugar moulds and jars.

As noted above, in advance of our excavations, aside from the location of the site there was already a hint that this site was the location of the German foundation. The tombstone of Isabel de Hana[...] was found adjacent to the Franciscan cemetery.

Sugar moulds used in the refining process were the first finds from our excavations supporting this identification. Like the Hospitallers the Teutonic Order was involved in the growing of sugar cane and in sugar refining.⁴¹ Similarly a large quantity of the 'Acre Bowls' recovered in the excavations strengthens the identification of this site with the Order (Fig. 4.4). These bowls are considered to have been used by pilgrims who were in the care of the Military Orders (and perhaps by the brothers of the Orders) and consequently their presence here points to the activity here of one of the Military Orders. Also, although very similar to the vessels found in Hospitaller sites, these bowls are slightly different in some details, suggesting that they might belong to a different military order.

41 Richard, 1985, 259; Riley-Smith, 1973, 46; E.J. Stern, *The Sugar Industry in Palestine during the Crusader, Ayyubid and Mamluk Periods in the Light of Archaeological Finds* (Hebrew), Unpublished MA thesis, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 29–30; A. Peled, *Sugar in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: a Crusader Technology between East and West* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 2009), 131–35; M. Solomidou-Leronymidou, 'The Crusaders, Sugar Mills and Sugar Production in Medieval Cyprus,' in P. Edbury and S. Kalopissi-Verti, eds., *Archaeology of the Crusades* (Athens, 2007), 64–65; S. Lotan, *The Teutonic Order in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Hebrew) (Tel-Aviv, 2012), 82–83, 159–61, 167–68. See Strehlke, 7, no. 6; 9, no. 8; 91–94, no. 112; 122, no. 128.



FIGURE 4.3 *Remains of buildings exposed in 1999* (PHOTOGRAPH BY G.P. MELLONI)



FIGURE 4.4 *Acre bowls* (PHOTOGRAPH BY BUKI BOAZ)



FIGURE 4.5 *Port Saint Symeon bowls with Teutonic emblem* (PHOTOGRAPH BY A.J. BOAS)

If these finds suggest a connection of this site to the Teutonic Order, two other ceramic finds are much more substantial in this regard, and should be considered as clear evidence that this was indeed the location of the German order in the thirteenth century. On two glazed bowls found in our excavations, the emblem of the Teutonic Order is prominently displayed (Fig. 4.5). This emblem is the letter T (sometimes referred to as a half-cross) within a circle or triangle. Very little has been written about the adoption of this symbol by the German order, and in the Latin East its use has gone unnoticed except in one case where it has been erroneously identified with the Templars. In his study of the architecture of Mamluk Jerusalem, Michael Burgoyne noted the presence in the city of a number of lapidary shields carved on the facades of various medieval buildings.⁴² Burgoyne refers to several shields of two distinct types, the T within a circle and an inverted T or half cross within an isosceles triangle. Of the triangular type Burgoyne records: 'five, all much the same size and at roughly shoulder height in the outer porch of Bāb al-Silsila/Bāb al-Sakīna; two others similar in size and height above the ground at the entrance to the Ribāt of 'Alā' al-Dīn; another similar in size and also at shoulder height on the street frontage of the Dār al-Qur'ān al-Sallāmiyya; and one similar in shape but very much larger on the southern abutment of an arch spanning the street immediately to the west

42 M.L. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1987), 115–16.

of the Sūq al-Lahhāmīn.⁴³ We can add to this brief list an additional mark; a triangular shield on the western façade of a Frankish period house with (at least) three shops on Ḥarat al-Yahūd, now plastered over, but which was visible until a few years ago on the doorpost between the two northernmost shops of this building which also has a façade with three shops facing the covered market street. Burgoyne noted that the triangular shield symbol was present on lead a jeton found at the Templar castle, Chateau Pèlerin ('Atlit').⁴⁴

The triangular symbol also is found as a masons' mark in the Templar castle of Beaufort and in the Templar Sea Castle of Sidon.⁴⁵ On the basis of this evidence Burgoyne suggested that both types were cut in houses to identify them as Templar properties, i.e. the houses on which they appear at shoulder height owed tax or rents to the Templar Order. In support of this theory is the fact that some of the houses marked with the triangular shield, became, after the Crusader period, *wākf* of the al-Aqsa Mosque which under Frankish rule in the twelfth century had been the Templar headquarters.⁴⁶ Noting that the Ribāt of 'Alā' al-Dīn is probably an Ayyubid building as is the porch of the Bāb al-Silsila and that the 'Atlit jeton is from the thirteenth century, Burgoyne speculates that if all of the structures are contemporaneous, the shields found on buildings in Jerusalem may identify those buildings as Templar possessions of the period between 1229 and 1244.⁴⁷ However, it is unlikely that the Templars would have had a presence in Jerusalem following the treaty of 1229, the terms of which left the Temple Mount, the headquarters of the Templar Order, in Muslim hands.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.; C.N. Johns, *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit), David's Tower (Jerusalem) and Qal'at ar-Rabad ('Ajlun)* (Aldershot, 1997), vi ('Atlit; Stables at the S.W. of the Suburb'), 54, Fig. 20.

45 P. Deschamps, *La défense du royaume de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1939), 204; C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873–1874*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1899), 10, 27, 35. However, such a mark is also found in the Teutonic castle of Montfort, which could perhaps suggest that Templar masons worked at Montfort or that this emblem as a mason's mark might not be connected to the Templar Order.

46 In a similar fashion, shops in the central market street, Malquisinat (the Street of Bad Cooking) that had formerly been property of the monastery of St. Anne near the Jehoshaphat Gate, and were marked by property marks, 'STA' and 'ANNA,' became in the Mamluk period *wākf* of the Salahiyya, the Muslim theological seminary founded by Salah ad-Dīn in the former church of St. Anne. At this time Malquisinat became known as the *Sūq et-Tabbākhīn* – Street of the Cooks. See H. Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jerusalem et d'Hebron* (fragments de la Chronique de Moudjir-ed-dyn) (Paris, 1876), 176.

47 Burgoyne, 1987, 116.

Six examples of the circular type of emblem are recorded by Burgoyne on buildings in Jerusalem, albeit four of these are partly defaced. These are on the façade of the *turba* of Barqa Khān in the Street of the Chain, a building which Burgoyne notes was originally of Frankish date (Fig. 4.6).⁴⁸ To these we can add four damaged circular emblems in the Armenian Quarter; one on the lower (eastern part of St. James Street (Harat al-Arman), a second one further west on St. James Street on the southern wall of a Frankish building attached to the church which is generally identified as the Crusader Church of S. Thomas. Another mark on the church is located near the corner of St. James Street where it turns to the north an un-named street and a fourth mark is located on Ararat Street which intersects St. James Street further east. This mark is at the south entrance to a vaulted section of the street. The Church of St. Thomas was most probably St. Thomas of the Germans (St. Thomas Alemannorum).⁴⁹ In April, 1229 Frederick II granted the Teutonic Order the nearby royal palace and an adjacent garden.⁵⁰ This grant refers to these properties being located near the Church of St. Thomas. Pringle points out that it may be doubted that there was more than one church of St. Thomas. Although all of these emblems have been defaced, their presence on or near properties that belonged to the Teutonic Order strengthens our argument that these are Teutonic insignia.⁵¹ Both the circles and the isosceles triangle are medieval shield forms. The triangle is the typical form of a Western shield. The circle was originally a Muslim shield form but, as can be seen in contemporary illuminations, was adopted by the Franks, perhaps as a result of circular shields falling into their hands as booty.

48 Ibid., III.

49 G. Bresc-Bautier (ed.), *Le Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades*, vol. xv (Paris, 1984), 323, no. 170; R. Röhrich (ed.), *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, (Innsbruck, 1893), 109, no. 421. See D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. III: *The City of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 2007), 386.

50 Strehlke, 55, no. 69; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 265, no. 1010. 'Fridericus II imperator domui Theutonicorum per manum Hermanni magistri domum in civitate Hierosolymitana scilicet in ruga Armeniorum prope ecclesiam S. Thomae sitam, quae fuit quondam Balduini regis, hortum, VI carrucatas terrae et domum, quam fratres dicti ordinis ante amissionem Terrae Sanctae in dicta civitate possidebant, cum pertinentiis donat et confirmat.'

51 One might speculate that the defacement of all of these emblems suggests some anti-Teutonic or perhaps anti-Frankish sentiments in the period following the fall of the city in 1244, or perhaps even prior to this, by the Armenian Christians who traditionally owned this part of the city and may have resented the German intrusion.

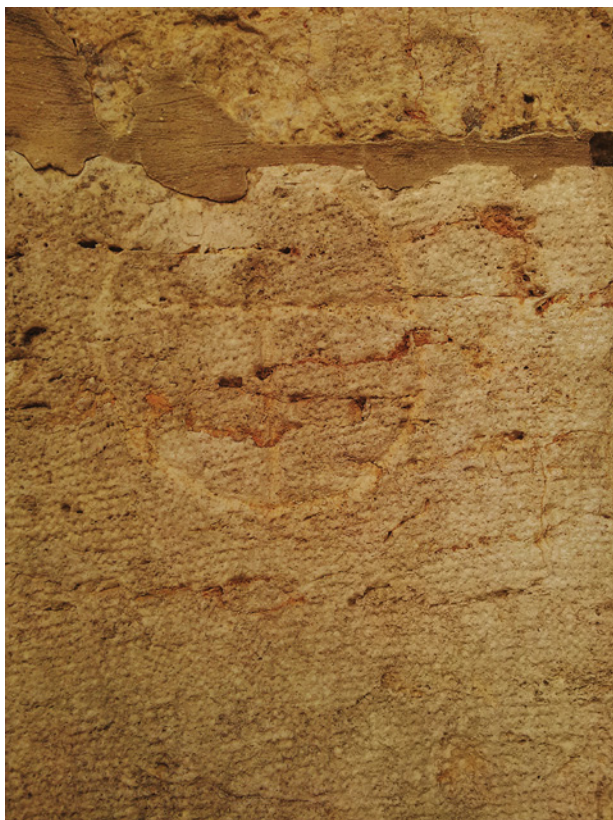


FIGURE 4.6
Teutonic property mark,
Jerusalem
 (PHOTOGRAPH BY A.J.
 BOAS)

It seems likely then that those shields displaying an upright T or half cross within a circle, were in fact marks of Teutonic properties rather than marks of the Templars. A passage in a manuscript from Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Cln 5307) refers to the demand of the Templars that the Germans change their emblem: 'Qui cum fuissent Templariis subiecti, venerunt Templarii et circulum qui erat circa nigram crucem, quam adhuc portant, deposuerunt; quod erat inter omnia signa maxime honorificum.'⁵² If the Germans acquiesced to

52 See on this source B.Z. Kedar, 'The *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre ierosolimitane*, in J. France and W.G. Zajac (eds), *The Crusades and their Sources. Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton* (Aldershot, 1998), 111–113 (notably, Appendix 2, 132) reprinted in B.Z. Kedar, *Franks, Muslims and Oriental Christians in the Latin Levant. Studies for Frontier Acculturation* (Aldershot 2006), 11. In the Rule (regula) of the Teutonic Order it is recorded (cap. 32) that the 'familiares' (lay brothers = conversi) had their clothes marked: 'non cum integra

this demand it would appear that it was only for a while as the insignia reappears in their use in the thirteenth century.⁵³ The presence of these shields in Jerusalem may enable us to identify properties which came into Teutonic possession in 1229.

Elsewhere this emblem can be identified with Teutonic properties. A recent survey carried out by R. Khamissy recorded a large and well-cut circular shield with an upright T within a larger triangular shield on a stone in secondary use on an external wall of a village house at Castellum Regis (Fig. 4.7). In the West the emblem is also found in sites connected to the Teutonic Order. For example, the letters O and T appear in a sixteenth century context at Marburg in Hessen, Germany. Here, at the Teutonic Orders' Brüderhaus they are found on a portico dated 1572. Beside the knight's coat of arms appears an inscription which records that the arms are of Johann Kuhmann, knight of the Teutonic Order (T-O, *Ordo Teutonicus*). Here the T is adjacent to rather than within the circle. In the same form that it appears at Castellum Regis the emblem appears quite prominently in the Teutonic castle of Torre Alemanna, located some 40 km southeast of Foggia in Apulia. The emblem appears very finely carved on a large, irregular, partly worked and partly rough stone built into a wall on the interior court?⁵⁴ It also appears on fifteenth to seventeenth century glazed

croce,' which can be interpreted as meaning, not with the whole cross as the full members, but with the half. This is also evident in a document from Barletta: 'Ideo ego Raimundus recepiam a presenti habitum religionis eiusdem sacre domus et deferam in pallio meo mediam crucem cum uxore mea. Si vero predicta uxor mea ante me mori contigerit, totam et integram crucem incontinenti sanus sive infirmus cum ipsum religionis habitum recipere teneat et in collegio (fratrum integram crucem) in pallio deferam,' that is to say, Raymond and his wife became lay members of the Teutonic Order with the half cross (*crux media*). If his wife would die before him, Raymond would become a full brother of the Order with the full cross (*crux itegra*) (Dated 1263 November, original destr. in 1943, edition in R. Filangieri di Candida, *Le pergamene di Barletta del Reale Archivio di Napoli, 1075-1309* (*Codice diplomatico barese* 10), (Bari 1927), Nr. 109, 157-158.

53 What was the meaning of this symbol? The form with a circle enclosing a T is a well-known medieval symbolic form which appears on world maps (*mappaemundi*), the Orbis Terrarum (O-T) which display the known world as three continents divided by the Mediterranean, the Nile and the Don which together form the T shape. Similarly the medieval round maps of Jerusalem have a T formed by the main thoroughfares of the city; the upright (east-west) line of David Street and the horizontal (north-south) line of the *Cardo*.

54 See A. Busto, 'Torre Alemanna. Il contributo delle indagini archeologiche,' in H. Houben and K. Toomaspoeg (eds.), *L'Ordine Teutonicotra Mediterraneo e Baltico: incontri e scontri*



FIGURE 4.7
*Teutonic emblem in
 secondary use in Mi'ilia*
 (PHOTOGRAPH BY
 R. KHAMISY)

ceramic vessels, on the base of some of these vessels (often the location of a potters' mark) and also as decoration on the interior (probably the appropriate location for an owners' mark).⁵⁵

Although most of these symbols on the pottery from Torre Alemanna are of the upright T in a circular shield, one, rather different from the others, shows a triangular shield but with the upright T emblem. Among the ceramic finds from our excavations was a bowl of Port St. Symeon Ware, a type of lead-glazed, sgraffito (incised) decorated ware well-known in thirteenth century assemblages. Displayed on this bowl, as in the Torre Alemanna bowl, is an upright cross within a triangular shield (Fig. 4.8). Our second bowl, also of the Port St.

trareligion, popoli e culture. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Bari-Lecce-Brindisi, 14–16 settembre 2006) (Galatina, 2008), 328, Plate 36.

55 Ibid., Plate 37.



FIGURE 4.8 *Teutonic emblem on bowl from Torre Alemanna* (PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF A. BUSTO)

Symeon type, displays the more typical circular shield. The presence of these bowls which clearly were Teutonic property, together with other ceramic finds, documentary and cartographic evidence, can enable us to state with a fair degree of certainty that we have indeed identified the location of the Teutonic compound in Acre.

John of Antioch and the Perceptions of Language and Translation in Thirteenth-Century Acre

J. Rubin

Had we been given the chance to walk through the markets and streets of thirteenth-century Acre, we would have encountered a great variety of people and languages. Other than French, which was the main language spoken in the city, Arabic, Provençal, Hebrew, Coptic, Greek and various German and Italian dialects were also heard in its streets.¹ Furthermore, within the city one would have found intensive translation activity going on, as well as instruction of several languages.² But did there develop, within this cultural climate, novel or unique perceptions concerning language and translation? The aim of this paper is to answer this question by examining the work of one translator working within this cultural context: John of Antioch.

Not much is known about John. From his name, as it appears in his work,³ one can deduce that he was a Frank of *Outremer*, that is, a native of the Levant born to a family of western origins. The texts used here in order to study his views concerning language and translation are all included in one manuscript: Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS fr. 590.⁴ This manuscript comprises a collection of

1 L. Minervini, 'Tradizioni linguistiche e culturali negli Stati Latini d'Oriente,' in *Medioevo Romano e Orientale. Oralità, scrittura, modelli narrativi*, ed. A. Pioletti and F. Rizzo-Nervo (Messina, 1995), 155–72, at 157–65 (While Minervini's discussion does not specifically focus on Acre, her conclusions seem to fit the conditions in the city); D. Jacoby, 'Society, Culture, and the Arts in Crusader Acre,' in *France and the Holy Land*, ed. D.H. Weiss and L. Mahoney (Baltimore, 2004), 97–137, at 99.

2 These subjects are elaborately studied in: J. Rubin, *Intellectual Activity and Intercultural Exchanges in Frankish Acre, 1191–1291* [Forthcoming].

3 See below, n. 8.

4 It is noteworthy that John probably also translated Gervais of Tilbury's *Otia imperialia*. To this translation, preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 9113, are appended five original chapters, probably written by the translator. The claim that John authored this translation is based on the fact that the translator of the *Otia* is mentioned in the manuscript as 'maystre Harent d'Antioche,' while in the above-mentioned Chantilly manuscript John is referred to as 'Johan d'Antioche, que l'en apele de Harens.' Although this opinion, supported by L. Delisle and G. Paris, was later rejected by R. Levy, there seems to be no reason to doubt this identification. Lately, in an introduction to an

works John prepared for William of Santo Stefano, a prominent Hospitaller knight, probably from Lombardy, who ca. 1299–1303 served as the Commander of Cyprus.⁵ At the core of this collection, to which we shall refer below as the *Rectorique*, are John of Antioch's French translations of Cicero's *De inventione* and the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which in the thirteenth century were considered to be two parts of Cicero's Rhetoric.⁶ To these translations were added a preface, a methodological epilogue concerning the work of translators and a treatise on logic.⁷ While there is some debate as to whether the whole project was accomplished in Acre, it is clear that the translations of the rhetorical works were produced in the city, and very likely that the methodological epilogue attached to it was also composed there.⁸ We can also

edition of a considerable part of this translation, it was again maintained that John was the *Otia*'s translator. For the different opinions on this, see L. Delisle, 'Maître Jean d'Antioche, traducteur et Frère Guillaume de Saint-Etienne, hospitalier,' *Histoire Littéraire de la France* 33 (1906), 1–40, at 18–19; G. Paris, *La Littérature française au Moyen Age, XIe–XIVe siècle* (Paris, n.d.), 153; R. Levy, *Chronologie approximative de la littérature française du Moyen Age*, Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie 98 (1957), 22–24; C. Pignatelli and D. Gerner, *Les traductions françaises des Otia Imperialia de Gervais de Tilbury par Jean d'Antioche et Jean de Vignay, édition de la troisième partie* (Geneva, 2006), 25–29, 51–54, 431–38; C. Pignatelli, 'Un traducteur qui affiche ses croyances: l'ajout d'exempla au corpus des otia imperialia de Gervais de Tilbury dans la traduction attribuée à Jean d'Antioche,' in 'Pour acquérir honneur et pris.' *Mélanges de moyen français offerts à Giuseppe Di Stefano*, ed. M.C. Timelli and C. Galderisi (Montréal, 2004), 47–58.

5 This manuscript is edited in: *La Rectorique de Cyceron tradotta da Jean d'Antioche, Edizione e glossario*, ed. E. Guadagnini (Pisa, 2009). Regarding William and his literary activity, see A. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers Early Written Records, in *The Crusades and Their Sources. Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. France and W.G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), 135–54, at 139.

6 *La Rectorique*, ed. Guadagnini, 1.

7 *La Rectorique*, ed. Guadagnini, 2. I use the form 'De topicis differentiis' rather than 'de differentiis topicis' following Stump. See E. Stump, *Boethius's De topicis differentiis* (London, 1978), 14.

8 Following his description of the two works on rhetoric, John writes: "La quele art, je, Johan d'Anthioche, que l'en apele de Harens, ai translatee dou latin en françois et vulgarisee a l'honor et a la requeste del honest home et relegious frere Guillaume de saint Estiene, frere de la sainte maison de l'ospital de saint Johan de Jherusalem. Ce fut fait en Acre l'an de l'incarnacion nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist MCCLXXII"[sic]. *La Rectorique*, ed. Guadagnini, 79. Regarding the date of production of the manuscript, see next note. While Jaroslav Folda argued that this whole manuscript was presented to William in Acre in 1282, Harvey Stahl proposed that whereas it is likely that the part of the manuscript comprising the translation and the methodological epilogue was produced at Acre in 1282, the other parts

confidently state that the translations were prepared in 1282, and that the four elements included in the codex as we have it (i.e. the introduction, the translations, the epilogue and the treatise on logic) were all part of the project produced in order to be presented to William.⁹ In other words, we have before us a dated work of a translator working in the capital of the second Kingdom of Jerusalem during its last decade. Fortunately, this composition is telling with regard to John's ideas concerning translation and the vernacular.

The first point that should be made is that within the context of western culture in the late thirteenth century, John's is a highly novel and original project. Jacques Monfrin mentions John's translation of the texts on rhetoric as one of the two, or perhaps three, earliest works which, on the one hand, are 'real translations' into French rather than adaptations, and, on the other, include texts that are not of a strictly technical character.¹⁰ Robert Lucas' survey of French translations of Latin classics to 1500 provides a similar picture: Of the numerous translations that he mentions, only 10 are dated to any time before the end of the thirteenth century.¹¹ Additionally, according to Minervini, John was the first to translate a rhetorical work into French.¹²

were prepared at a somewhat later date, perhaps in Cyprus. J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre 1275–1291* (Princeton, 1976), 44; H. Stahl, 'A Review of: *Manuscript Illumination in Saint Jean d'Acre – 1275–1291*, by Jaroslav Folda,' *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 43 (1980), 416–23, at 418. In his *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, Folda answered Stahl. He does not reject Stahl's attribution of the introduction and the treatise on logic to another scribe. However, he sees no reason to maintain that this is a later hand. J. Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge NY, 2005), 658, n. 404.

- 9 "Ci comense Rectorique de Marc T. Cyceron, la quel maistre Johan d'Anthioche translata de latin en romans a la requeste de frere G. de l'ospital de s. Johan de Jerusalem l'an de l'incarnation MCCLXXXII." Chantilly fr. 590, fol. 13r; *La Rectorique*, ed. Guadagnini, 80. The dates 1272 and 1382 which are mentioned in other places in the manuscript should be ruled out: The second since there was no Latin presence in the East at that time, and the first since William is not known to have been at the Levant up to the 1280s. With regard to the four elements being a part of a unified project, see E. Guadagnini, 'Cicéron et Boèce en Orient: quelques réflexions sur la *Rectorique* de Jean d'Antioche,' in *The Medieval Translator* 15, ed. A. Petrina (Turnhout, 2013), 37–46, at 38.
- 10 J. Monfrin, 'Humanisme et traductions au moyen age,' *Journal des savants* (1963), 161–90, at 168. See also: J. Monfrin, 'Humanisme et traductions au Moyen Age,' in *L'humanisme médiéval dans les littératures romanes du XIII^e au XIV^e siècle*, ed. A. Fourrier (Paris, 1964), 217–46, at 224.
- 11 R.H. Lucas, 'Mediaeval French Translations of the Latin Classics to 1500,' *Speculum* 45 (1970), 225–53.
- 12 That is, with the exception of some sections which are included in Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*. Minervini, 'Tradizioni,' 167.

The novelty of John's project is also evident by the inclusion of the treatise on logic in the codex he prepared. This short treatise, made with the explicit intention of introducing this field to those who cannot learn it properly, consists mostly of excerpts from the first two books of Boethius' *De topicis differentiis*, translated into French and having undergone various editorial emendations.¹³ As was already stated, it is difficult to state with certainty whether this text was attached to John's project in Acre in 1282 or whether it was appended to it somewhat later, perhaps in Cyprus.¹⁴ On the other hand, it is clear that the treatise on logic was intended to be presented to William along with the rest of the *Rectorique*, and is thus indicative of the cultural climate in which John was working.¹⁵ The degree of the latter's involvement in the development of the treatise is, at this stage, uncertain: He may have found the text already in French, or, alternatively, translated it himself. He also may, or may have not, chosen the excerpts included in the manuscript. The most likely scenario seems to be that John found Boethius' text, perhaps already in the form of excerpts, in the Latin manuscript from which he translated the *Rectorique*.¹⁶ This is supported by the fact that Cicero's works on rhetoric appear in several manuscripts and, notably, in one manuscript which seems to provide a Latin text resembling that which John used for his translation, along with Boethius' *De differentiis topicis*. If this is indeed the case, then we owe to John one of the first vernacular texts in logic.

Engaging with logic using the vernacular was far from trivial at the time. In fact, there seems to be no other evidence for a medieval vernacular treatment of Boethius' *De differentiis topicis*.¹⁷ Furthermore, not long before John undertook his project, Roger Bacon wrote that "a logician will not be able to express his logic if he would have taught using his maternal language's vocabulary. He would have needed to invent a new vocabulary, and therefore would not have

13 The discovery regarding the relation between John's treatise and Boethius' work was made by E. Guadagnini. See Guadagnini, 'Cicéron et Boèce,' 37–8.

14 See above, note 8.

15 This is made clear first and foremost by the dedication, in the end of the treatise, to William. *La Rectorique*, ed. Guadagnini, 355.

16 Guadagnini, 'Cicéron et Boèce,' 38–9.

17 No mention of a medieval vernacular translation of this work was made by Lucas in his survey of medieval French translations. Lucas, 'Mediaeval French Translations,' 225–53. Furthermore, in his survey of medieval textbooks on logic, Green-Pedersen says nothing about vernacular textbooks. N. Green-Pedersen, *The Tradition of the Topics in the Middle Ages* (Munich, 1984). I have also been unable to find any reference to French translations of Boethius' *De differentiis topicis* in: N.H. Kaylor and P.E. Phillips (ed.), *A Companion to Boethius in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2012).

been understood by anyone save himself."¹⁸ In other words, less than two decades before John presented his *Rectorique* to William, one of Europe's greatest thinkers perceived the vernacular treatment of logic as impossible. And indeed, in order to treat logic in the vernacular, John undertook to create new French terms.¹⁹

One can thus conclude that John was of the opinion that French could convey complex ideas in fields such as rhetoric and logic, which, at the time, were still normally reserved for Latin. John was certainly not the only one in Acre to hold this view. We can be certain that William shared John's attitude toward the vernacular. This is made evident not only by the fact that John's translations of the *Rectorique* were produced at William's request, but also as, some years later, William composed works in history and jurisprudence using French.²⁰ It is also probable that others in their cultural circles held similar views on this issue: After all, a fancy codex such as the Chantilly manuscript was certainly meant to be shown. These findings support the general assessment of *Outremer* as characterized by an inclination to use the vernacular in fields which, at the time, were usually preserved for Latin, such as historiography, prose and law.²¹

A closer examination of John's work can advance us toward a more complete understanding of his ideas concerning translation and the vernacular, and thus also of the notions that circulated in Acre and in *Outremer* with regard to these subjects. A particularly significant piece of evidence in this context is provided by John's methodological epilogue. Explaining why a translator should follow the author's treatment of the subject under discussion, but not his manner of speaking, he writes:²²

18 "... logicus non poterit exprimere suam logicam si monstrasset per vocabula linguae maternae; sed oporteret ipsum nova fingere, et ideo non intelligeretur nisi a seipso." Fratris Rogeri Bacon, *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, ed. J.S. Brewer (London, 1859), 90. The *Opus tertium* is dated to 1267.

19 Guadagnini, 'Cicéron et Boèce,' 39–40.

20 Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers,' 146–47.

21 Minervini, 'Tradizioni,' 157.

22 "... car la maniere dou parler au latin n'est pas semblable generaument a cele dou françois, ne les proprieté des paroles, ne les raisons d'ordener les araisonemenz et les diz dou latin ne sont pas semblables a celes dou françois. Et ce est comunaument en toute lengue, quar chascune lengue a ses proprieté et sa maniere de parler, et por ce nul translateour et interpreteour ne porroit jamais bien translater d'une lengue a autre s'il ne s'enformast a la maniere et as proprieté de cele lengue en qui il translate: por la quel chose il covint au translateour de ceste science de translater aucune fois parole por parole et au(cu)ne fois et plus sovent sentence por sentence et au(cu)ne fois por la grant obsculté de la sentence li

... because the manner of speaking [maniere dou parler] in Latin is not generally similar to that of French. Neither the particularities of words nor the methods of arranging arguments and words in Latin are similar to those of French. And that is [so] generally in every language. Because every language has its own particularities and its manner of speaking [ses proprietiez et sa maniere de parler]. And for that [reason] no translator or interpreter could ever translate well from one language to another if he does not instruct himself in the manner and particularities of that language to which he translates. For that reason a translator of this science should translate sometimes word for word and sometimes and more frequently sentence for sentence. And sometimes because of the great obscurity of a sentence he should add and augment. Likewise he should, in some places in the expression [of ideas], change and modify examples because of the discordance of letters and syllables that he found between the two languages.

It is clear from this text that John perceived different languages as possessing different characteristics, both lexically and grammatically. Accordingly, a translator should adapt the text on which he is working to the target language, rather than stick to the structure of the source text. Thus, says John, a translator of 'this science' – by which he probably refers to rhetoric – has to translate sometimes word by word, but more frequently sentence by sentence. Furthermore, occasionally he would have to make structural changes in the sentences as they appear in his source text. In other words, John objects to literal translation and argues that translators have to be flexible in the process of translation, aiming, more than anything else, to create a text that would make sense in the target language while preserving the author's 'mainere dou tracter'.²³

(con)vint il sozjoindre et acreistre. Autresi li (con)vint en aucun leu en l'elocucion de changier et müer exemples por la discordance de letres et de sillabes qu'il trova entre les ii langues." *La Rectorique*, ed. Guadagnini, 350.

23 It is interesting to compare John's comments on this issue with those expressed by John of Seville in the introduction to his translation of the *Secret of Secrets*: "Ex quo presens opus tantum in Latinum transtuli, non ex toto litteraturam sequens – quod a nullo interpretum posse perfici arbitror – sed, iuxta posse meum, in quibusdam sensum, in quibusdam etiam sensum et litteraturam secutus sum. Nec mirum si imperitia mea hoc egi cum pene omnes sapientes qui fuere interpretes ita egisse noscuntur. Nam diversitas translationum indicat quod nullus valet sequi semper litteraturam. Ego autem in omnibus magis litteraturam secutus sum ne longius a veritatis tramite recederem." In other words, while John of Seville acknowledges that a wholly literal translation is impossible, he also says that in all cases he "rather followed the letter." His conclusions are therefore quite

Clearly, John's discussion belongs to a very long Latin tradition of contrasting *ad verbum* translations with *ad sensum* translations.²⁴ In this sense, John of Antioch shows himself to be well acquainted with a western tradition that has its roots in translations from Greek into Latin. It is impossible to say with any certainty where John learned about this tradition, but several hypotheses can be presented. He may have learned about it through Philip of Tripoli's translation of the *Secretum secretorum*. This translation was produced in the Latin East around 1230 by a man who served as a canon in Tripoli from 1227, and who used an Arabic manuscript found in Antioch.²⁵ In the prologue to this work Philip writes the following:²⁶

In turn, desiring humbly to obey your mandate and your will ... I have translated with great labor and clear prose from Arabic idiomatically into Latin – sometimes literally, and sometimes according to the sense, since there is one way of speaking [modus loquendi] among the Arabs and another among the Latins, this book that is not found among the Latins and but rarely among the Arabs....

different from John of Antioch's. The introduction is edited and translated in: C. Burnett, 'Magister Iohannes Hispalensis et Limiensis' and Qusta ibn Luqa's *De differentia spiritus et animae*: a Portuguese contribution to the arts curriculum?', *Medievalia, Textos e Estudos* 7–8 (Porto, 1995), 221–67, at 256–57.

24 Guadagnini, 'Cicéron et Boèce,' 45–46.

25 S.J. Williams, 'Philip of Tripoli's Translation of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum* Viewed within the Context of Intellectual Activity in the Crusader Levant,' in *Occident et Proche-Orient: Contacts scientifiques au temps des Croisades*, ed. I. Draelants, A. Tihon and B. van den Abeele (Turnhout, 2000), 79–94, at 80–85. It should be mentioned in this context that Antioch witnessed several translation projects in the Frankish period. It is thus possible that John was related to some local tradition. For Antioch as a center of intellectual activities, see C.S.F. Burnett, 'Antioch as a Link between Arabic and Latin Culture,' in *Occident et Proche-Orient: Contacts scientifiques au temps des Croisades*, ed. I. Draelants, A. Tihon and B. van den Abeele (Turnhout, 2000), 1–69; S. Edgington, 'Antioch, Medieval City of Culture,' in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. K. Ciggaar and M. Metcalf, vol. 1, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 147 (2006), 247–59.

26 "Porro vestro mandato cupiens humiliter obedire et voluntati vestre ... hunc librum, quo carebant latini eo quod apud paucissimos arabes invenitur, transtuli cum magno labore et lucido sermone de Arabico ydiomate in Latinum ... eliciens quandoque litteram ex littera et quandoque sensum ex sensu, cum alius loquendi modus sit apud Arabes, alius apud Latinos." For both the Latin text and the translation, see S.J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets: the Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor, 2003), 361, 364.

It is possible that John, a native of Antioch, knew this work and acquired some of his views on translation from it. Support for this hypothesis is provided by the similarity between Philip's *modus loquendi* employed in the cited passage and John's *maniere de parler* which appears in his epilogue on the work of translators.

Another text which may have influenced John in this regard is Aquinas' discussion of translation in his *Contra errores Graecorum*:²⁷

It therefore belongs to the task of the good translator, when translating matters of the Catholic faith, to preserve the meaning, while changing the manner of speaking [*modus loquendi*] according to the special character of the language [*proprietas linguae*] into which he is translating ... when these which are said in one language are translated to another in such a manner that a word is taken for a word, it is no wonder if some doubt would remain.

Clearly, this text presents views which are very similar to John's: In order to preserve the sense of the text, the translator must change the 'manner of speech;' this must be done in conformity with the characteristics of the target language; a literal translation is not a good one. But besides the similarity in the ideas presented, one should note the close resemblance between the terms used by Aquinas and those used by John. Aquinas speaks of the *proprietas linguae* while John writes that "chascune langue a ses proprietiez." Even more instructive is, again, the use of *modus loquendi* equivalent to John's *maniere de parler*. Furthermore, it is quite likely that the *Contra errores* circulated in cities such as Acre and Antioch since it was highly relevant for places in which contacts between westerners and Greeks were intensive.

So far we have examined an element from John's epilogue which should be seen as a part of a long western tradition. But the epilogue also includes one notion which was rather unusual at the time. In the above-cited passage John stresses the difference, in terms of structure and vocabulary, between Latin and French, but he does so while arguing that the same kinds of differences exist between any two languages. In other words, the disparity between Latin and French is not a result of any deficiency on the part of the French language.

²⁷ "Unde ad officium boni translatoris pertinet, ut ea quae sunt catholicae fidei transferens, servet sententiam, mutet autem modum loquendi secundum proprietatem linguae in quam transfert ... quando ea quae in una lingua dicuntur, transferuntur in aliam, ita quod verbum sumatur ex verbo, non est mirum si aliqua dubietas relinquatur." Thomas Aquinas, *Opuscula omnia*, ed. R.P. Petri Mandonnet, 5 vols. (Paris, 1927), 3.279.

Rather, all languages are unique and any two given languages differ from one another. As Serge Lusignan writes, this line of thinking leads to a conception, which was rare during the Middle Ages, that tends to view French and Latin as equal.²⁸ Indeed, medieval thinkers often described the vernacular as incapable of transmitting complex ideas.²⁹ Thus John reveals his belief in the capacity of the vernacular both in his practice as a translator, and through his explicit – and unusual – discussion of the interrelation between Latin and the vernacular in the epilogue to his *Rectorique*.

The *Rectorique* provides evidence for an additional aspect of John's perception of the vernacular: his notion of French grammar. Serge Lusignan argued that the word *gramaire* was rare in the texts he surveyed, and that where it was found, it signifies Latin.³⁰ Furthermore, while during the thirteenth century some paradigms from Latin grammar were applied to French, it was only in the fourteenth century that French became the subject of grammatical reflection.³¹ Seen against this background, John's views regarding vernacular grammar, as revealed in the *Rectorique* are indeed unusual. In its prologue, discussing the different parts of philosophy, John says that *gramaire* teaches us to speak properly and rightly.³² Being aimed at a non-Latin reading audience it seems very unlikely that these words were to be understood as relating to Latin.³³ Another occurrence of the word *gramaire* in the *Rectorique* is even more instructive. In order to comprehend John's use of the term here and to understand what views of Old French it exposes, it is necessary to compare the original Latin text with the French translation. The Latin text reads:³⁴

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- 28 S. Lusignan, *Parler vulgairement: Les intellectuels et la langue française aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Paris, 1987), 144.
- 29 Lusignan, *Parler*, 43, 73.
- 30 Lusignan, *Parler*, 167, 170–71.
- 31 T. Städtler, *Zu den Anfängen der französischen Grammatiksprache*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 223 (Tübingen, 1988), 10 *et passim*.
- 32 "... gramaire nos enseigne convenablement et droitement parler." *La rectorique*, ed. Guadagnini, 75.
- 33 It is interesting to note that the *Image du monde*, which was probably copied in Acre, explicitly says about grammar: "Ce est celé qui ensaingne a fourmer parole, soit en latin ou en roumanz ou en touz autres langages parlans." For the text, see O.H. Prior (ed.), *L'image du monde de maître Gossouin, redaction en prose: Texte du manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale fonds français no. 574, avec corrections, notes et introduction* (Lausanne, 1913), 81. For the work's connection to Acre, see L. Minervini, 'Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli Stati Crociati: biblioteche e scriptoria latini,' in *Il viaggio dei testi. Terzo colloquio internazionale Medioevo romanzo e orientale*, ed. A. Pioletti e F. Rizzo-Nervo (Venezia, 1999), 79–96, at 92–3.
- 34 "Barbarismus est, cum verbis aliquid vitiose efferatur." F. Marx (ed.), *Ad C. Herennium de ratione dicendi* (Leipzig, 1964), 123.

Barbarism is when by words something is wrongly expressed.

John's translation includes a much more elaborate text:³⁵

Barbarism is when some word is found defective in itself in pronunciation or in writing; in pronunciation, as when someone would say 'hospital' prolonging the 'pi'; in writing as when someone would write or pronounce in the said word 'b' for 'p.'

A comparison between the phrases shows the way in which John draws the Latin concept of *barbarismus* into his own cultural environment. Firstly, in order to explain to his readers what this term means he chooses a word – hospital – which was particularly significant for him and for the patron of the project, William of Santo Stefano, who, as we have seen, was an eminent Hospitalier knight. The connection of this discussion to John's intended audience is further enhanced by the mention of an error which may well reflect the influence of Arabic pronunciation on the vernacular: the pronunciation or writing of 'hospital' instead of 'hospital.' John's next phrase, which, notably, is not an exact rendering of the Latin text, goes on to create a clear association between the practice of the vernacular in *Outremer* and the field of *gramaire*: "By what method we can avoid these two vices, the art of *gramaire* teaches us very clearly."³⁶ Thus, John produces a text which presents *gramaire* as a field of knowledge that can help French users, including – and perhaps first and foremost – those who live in the Latin East, to speak and write properly.

The novelty of John's views of vernacular grammar is also reflected in another phenomenon in his work: the use of French grammatical terms. Generally speaking, such terms appeared during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and were mostly used in vernacular discussions of Latin grammar.³⁷ Against this background, John's use of such terms places him, again, in a rather uncommon position. This can be demonstrated by his employment of the word *preterit*.

35 "Barbarism si est quant aucune parole est trovee viciouse en soi meisme au prononcier ou en l'escrit: au prononcier si come qui diroit 'hospital' proloignant le 'pi,' en l'escrit si come qui escrivoit ou prononceroit au devant dit mot 'b' por 'p.'" *La Rectorique*, ed. Guadagnini, 303.

36 "Par quel raison nos puissons ces ii vices eschiver, l'art de gramaire nos enseigne bien clerement." *La Rectorique*, ed. Guadagnini, 303. The parallel Latin text is: "Haec qua ratione vitare possumus, in arte grammatica dilucide dicemus." ("By what method we can avoid these [errors], we will clearly state in the 'Grammatical Art.'") For the Latin text, see Marx (ed.), *Ad C. Herennium*, 123.

37 T. Städtler, 'Témoins précoces de la terminologie grammaticale française,' *Travaux de linguistique et de philologie* 37 (1999), 123–29.

The earliest evidence for the use of this term is in a late twelfth-century gloss to Aelfric's Latin grammar.³⁸ Its next appearance is in Henri d'Andeli's *Bataille de vii ars* (ca. 1245), again referring to Latin grammar. The word also appears in a few French translations of Latin grammars which appeared after 1250.³⁹ In other words, at the time John was preparing his translation, this term did not yet have a long tradition behind it, and its employment was in all likelihood associated mainly with vernacular discussions of Latin. And yet, in his *Rectorique*, John inserted this term three times into places where the Latin original does not have the equivalent *praeteritum*.⁴⁰ The third of these seems to be the most instructive. It follows a more or less exact translation of a general's speech, whose purpose is to present dilemmas he faced in a certain situation. Following the general's comments, John adds:⁴¹

One can also turn a *subiectio* thus made entirely into *preterit* or into *futur*.

What can we make of this insertion? Firstly, John and his audience were acquainted with the term *preterit*. This conclusion can be supported by the two other above-mentioned occurrences in which this term, along with two other terms denoting tenses, were added by John to the text he translated in order to facilitate its reading.⁴² But, more significantly, John's employment of the term here is clearly intended to suggest to his readers a certain manner of expression in French. This phrase thus reveals that John was capable of thinking about *preterit* in the context of French rhetoric and independently of Latin grammar, and that he expected his audience to be able to implement his comment in the vernacular. This is clearly different from the situation described above where French terms were used to describe Latin grammar. It thus seems

38 Städtler, 'Témoins,' 124.

39 Städtler, *Zu den Anfängen*, 268.

40 Cf. *La Rectorique*, ed. Guadagnini, 88, and Cicero, *Rhetorici libri duo qui vocantur de inventione*, ed. E. Stroebel (Stuttgart, 1965), 10; *La Rectorique*, ed. Guadagnini, 109 and *De inventione*, ed. Stroebel, 33; *La Rectorique*, ed. Guadagnini, 316 and Marx (ed.), *Ad C. Herennium*, 143. Of course, it cannot be completely ruled out that John used a Latin manuscript that did have the word *praeteritum* in these places. However, this term does not appear in the critical texts I used (neither in the presented text nor in the apparatus). In a fourth case, the word appears in a place where the Latin text does include the Latin *praeteritum*. *La Rectorique*, ed. Guadagnini, 238; Marx (ed.), *Ad C. Herennium*, 30.

41 "Si faite subgection peut on torner autresi dou tout au preterit ou au futur." *La Rectorique*, ed. Guadagnini, 316. Cf.: Marx (ed.), *Ad C. Herennium*, 143.

42 Cf. respectively: *La Rectorique*, ed. Guadagnini, 88, and *De inventione*, ed. Stroebel, 10; *La Rectorique*, ed. Guadagnini, 109 and *De inventione*, ed. Stroebel, 33.

that there existed in Acre, at least in some quarters, an advanced attitude toward French grammar.

We have seen that John of Antioch, a native of the Latin East, who, as far as one can tell from the existing evidence, never attended any major study centre, reveals in his *Rectorique* unusual perceptions concerning the capacity and status of the vernacular as well as the significance of vernacular grammar. We have also noted that at least to some extent these views must have been found among the audience to which he was writing, that is, the Kingdom of Jerusalem's nobility. While at first glance this may seem surprising, an examination of the sociolinguistic context in which he was operating can do much to explain why such perceptions appeared in Acre. One possible explanation would be that in *Outremer* knowledge of Latin was not as common as it was in western cities. This characteristic of *Outremer*, possibly related to the limited number of institutions in which one could have acquired this language,⁴³ would have led to the composition in French of works belonging to genres that in the West were reserved for Latin. This phenomenon, in turn, would have resulted in a growing belief in the capacity of the vernacular to function in new fields. The rising inclination to employ the vernacular in new genres was possibly also facilitated by the lack of a dominant academic elite committed to the exclusivity of the Latin language. In other words, the limited presence and standing in Acre of learned persons holding views similar to that of Roger Bacon may have eased the introduction of French into new fields of knowledge.

Such hypotheses may be connected to another possible explanation for the appearance of novel ideas regarding the vernacular in Acre: In *Outremer* the *langue d'oïl* became the language of the elite.⁴⁴ Thus its prestige increased and it became easier to envisage its use in fields which were earlier kept strictly for Latin. Furthermore, the combination of the vernacular's prestige with its fre-

43 It is to be noted, however, that, contrary to what is sometimes argued, the fact that *Outremer* lacked a University is not very helpful for assessing its intellectual life, as many important Western cultural centres did not have such institutions before 1291. In fact, Jacques Verger lists only eighteen universities as positively founded before that date. J. Verger, 'Patterns,' in *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. 1: Universities in the Middle Ages, ed. H. de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge, 1992), 62–3.

44 C. Aslanov, 'L'ancien français, sociolecte d'une caste au pouvoir: Royaume de Jérusalem, Morée, Chypre,' in *Evolutions en français, Etudes de linguistique diachronique*, ed. B. Fagard, S. Prévost, B. Combettes et O. Bertrand (Berne, 2008), 3–19, at 3–4; L. Minervini, 'Outremer,' in *Lo spazio letterario del medioevo*, 2. *Il medioevo volgare*, vol. 1, *La produzione del testo*, ed. P. Boitani, M. Mancini and A. Vàrvaro (Rome, 2001), 611–48, at 617.

quent employment by non-native speakers created a degree of sensitivity,⁴⁵ among some French speakers, with regard to its use. In other words, as we have seen in the case of the word 'hospital,' some native French-speakers seem to have criticized the performance of the language by non-native speakers. Such criticism, necessarily based on some criteria concerning the proper employment of the language, probably contributed to the inclination to reflect on the vernacular. The teaching of French in Acre probably further encouraged the perception of the vernacular as a legitimate subject for grammatical reflection.⁴⁶ Indeed there is clear evidence that, in the case of England, the fact that French was taught as a second language led to an engagement with the vernacular in ways very similar to those used much earlier for the instruction of Latin.⁴⁷ Such developments can partly explain John's unusual views with regard to vernacular grammar as well as his employment of grammatical terms.

Another possible explanation for the development of novel ideas regarding language in Acre has to do with the impact of contact with various foreign linguistic systems on the ideas of westerners concerning their own languages. Aslanov raised the possibility that the encounter of the Franks with a different linguistic environment led them to reinterpret or modify their own system.⁴⁸ Specifically, he argues that the Frankish encounter, in the context of the Fourth Crusade, with Greek culture, where prose histories were a well-established genre, resulted in the appearance of the first French prose histories by Geoffrey de Villehardouin and Robert de Clari. It seems likely that similar processes took place in thirteenth-century Acre, where Latins not only encountered a

45 One can assume, for example, that Arabs – Muslim or Christian – holding administrative positions in Frankish institutions had to use French even if their knowledge of it was partial. On the place of non-Latins in the Kingdom's administration, see: J. Riley-Smith, 'Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria,' *The English Historical Review* 87 (January, 1972), 1–26.

46 Muslim converts are very likely to have received at least some level of instruction in French in the city. See, for example, Oliverus Scholasticus, *Historia Damiatina*, ed. Hoogeweg, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins CCH (Tübingen, 1894), 167. A French-Arabic glossary, which seems to have been prepared for Coptic travelers visiting the Latin East, includes words such as 'teacher,' 'pen,' 'inkstand,' and phrases like 'read well' and 'he does not read well.' Thus it provides evidence that these travelers were supposed to acquire at least some French in the city. L. Minervini, 'La français dans l'orient Latin (XIII^e–XIV^e siècles). Éléments pour la caractérisation d'une *scripta* du Levant,' *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 74 (2010), 119–198, at 136. For the deciphered and commented glossary, see C. Aslanov, *Evidence of Francophony in Mediaeval Levant* (Jerusalem, 2006).

47 Lusignan, *Parler*, 93.

48 Aslanov, 'L'ancien français,' 13–17.

variety of linguistic systems but were also attentive toward them.⁴⁹ Some Latins may have been specifically impressed, and perhaps even influenced, by the encounter with languages which were used for both everyday matters and literary purposes, as was the case with both Arabic and Greek.⁵⁰ Such an encounter may have encouraged some Franks to view the vernacular as useful for fields which were up to that time strictly preserved for Latin, thus contributing to the appearance of works such as John of Antioch's *Rectorique* and perhaps also to the inclination to discuss, and learn, French grammar.

Conquered and put into ruins by the Mamluks in May 1291, Acre's rich cultural and intellectual world is available to us only through a body of extant textual evidence. Such materials provide testimony to the great variety of languages used as well as to the intensiveness of activity related to language in the city. Inter alia, our sources attest to the central role of translators active in various spheres, such as commerce and diplomacy, as well as to the teaching of different languages. In this paper we have shown through one, though composite, text from late thirteenth-century Acre, that this state of affairs also resulted in the development of unique notions concerning linguistic matters. Examined against the background of thirteenth-century western culture, John of Antioch held highly original perceptions concerning the status and capacity of the vernacular as well as regarding the concept of vernacular grammar. His ideas must be examined against both specific texts which possibly circulated in his environment and the general cultural atmosphere in which he worked. His ideas concerning the work of translators may have been connected to those which appear in texts such as Aquinas' *Contra errores Graecorum*, or Philip of Tripoli's translation of the Secret of Secrets. His perception of equality between Latin and the vernacular reflects, as we have argued above, a major trend in *Outremer's* culture. In this respect, the Chantilly manuscript's contribution to our knowledge lies first and foremost in the fact that John presents here an explicit theoretical treatment of the issue. As for John's ideas concerning vernacular grammar – these seem to be highly original, but, as we have argued, they must have been, at least to some degree, present within John's cultural surroundings. Otherwise, it would have made no sense for him to use

49 See, for example, Jacques de Vitry's discussion of the linguistic systems of various religious groups he encountered in the Latin East. Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire orientale*, ed. and French trans. J. Donnadieu (Turnhout, 2008), 298, 310, 314, 318, 322.

50 Aslanov describes the Arabic and Greek linguistic systems that the Franks encountered as monolingual diglossias, that is systems in which there operated several stylistic registers within one language. The Franks perceived both the Greek and Arabic systems as monolingual. Aslanov, 'L'ancien français,' 14.

grammatical terms in his work in the manner he did. The development of these ideas may be explained by some of the characteristics of the cultural world in which John worked: the relatively limited knowledge of and commitment to Latin on the one hand, and the high status ascribed to the *langue d'oïl* on the other; the teaching of French to, and its practice by, non-native speakers; and the contacts between users of various linguistic systems. Thus, at least as far as the perception of the vernacular and its grammar are concerned, Acre was far from being an intellectual backwater. Rather, it housed a unique cultural scene in which novel ideas developed.

Did the Templars Lose the Holy Land? The Military Orders and the Defense of Acre, 1291

Paul F. Crawford

At the beginning of 1290, a handful of Christian enclaves remained on the coastal littoral of the Holy Land: Tortosa, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Château Pèlerin ... and the city of Acre. Three of these were directly in the hands of the Order of the Temple (Tortosa, Sidon, and Château Pèlerin) and the Temple and the other military orders were prominent in a fourth, Acre, though they were not apparently voting members of its city council.¹

By the end of 1291, the Christians had lost them all. How did this happen? Some writers in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries blamed the military orders. Were the military orders – especially the Templars – responsible for this cataclysm?

Let us examine the events of 1290–1291, especially with regard to Acre, to find tentative answers, at least, to that question.

First the outlines of what happened.² In 1289, owing to a quarrel between the commune of Tripoli and its ruling family over a disputed succession, the Mamluk Sultan Kelewan³ of Egypt besieged and took the city, with great loss of life to its Christian inhabitants. A typical pattern then played itself out. As usual, the West was shocked by a disaster in the Christian East, and began to make plans to assemble a crusade either to rectify the problem, or at least to shore up their remaining Christian brethren. An initial element of this crusade, drawn from northern Italy, arrived in Acre in 1290. Something then went very wrong – depending on whose account one follows, either the newcomers objected to an insult offered by a Muslim to a Christian lady, or else the crusaders, who seem to have been predominantly lower-class Italians, attacked the Muslims who were in the city under the prevailing truce, for reasons unclear, and killed many of them.

¹ J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310* (London & New York, 1967), 147–50.

² See especially *The 'Templar of Tyre': Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'* (Crusade Texts in Translation 6), tr. Paul Crawford (Aldershot & Burlington, 2003), 96, §468, to 120, §516.

³ Or Qalawun, Qalavun, etc., depending on the transliteration system used.

According to the “Templar of Tyre,” a Cypriot knight who served as secretary to Grand Master William of Beaujeu and who apparently played a key role in maintaining the Templars’ intelligence network, Kelewan “was planning to do grievous harm to the city of Acre [anyway],”⁴ and he therefore seized upon this violent episode as an excuse to prepare to attack the city. He demanded that Acre hand over the perpetrators of the deeds to stave off an attack, knowing full well that the demand could not possibly be met. The Templar master, William of Beaujeu, proposed to the Acre city council⁵ that they empty their various jails – it is a symptom of the organizational disunity which plagued the city that there were at least five separate prisons and associated jurisdictions in Acre⁶ – but this suggestion, which some have viewed as Solomonic and others more as demonic, was rejected out of hand by the council. William, forewarned of the seriousness of the situation by the Templar intelligence network, tried to warn the council again, but was again ignored. Kelewan then set out in October 1290, with a large army, to besiege the city.

Fortunately for Acre – or so it seemed – the Sultan took sick and died along the way. Relieved, the city fathers settled down to enjoy the period of instability and fratricidal violence that usually characterized a Mamluk succession. But unfortunately for them, this time there was no disputed succession. One of Kelewan’s sons, Khalil Al-Ashraf, immediately took over the Mamluk government and continued his father’s jihad against Acre. Al-Ashraf sent a letter directly to the Templar master, which is significant, as it suggests that he viewed William of Beaujeu as the real power in Acre. In it, he wrote, “Because you have been a true man, so we send you advance notice of our intentions, and give you to understand that we are coming into your parts to right the wrongs that have been done. Therefore we do not want the community of Acre to send us any letters or presents [regarding this matter], for we will by no means receive them.”⁷ Master William passed this on to the council, but they hopefully sent messengers anyway – messengers who were promptly “thrown into prison ... where they perished miserably,” according to the “Templar of Tyre.”⁸

4 *Templar*, §481.

5 The ‘lords of Acre’ were comprised of, at least, the Patriarch and papal legate, Nicholas of Hanapes, the master of the Hospital, John of Villiers, the Teutonic Knight commander (acting for the master who was on the outs with the rest of the council and had gone back to Italy), and, presumably, the master of the Templars. It is implied that the Pisan consul and Venetian bailli were also among the ‘lords.’ The military orders, however, could apparently advise but not vote or otherwise compel – an awkward situation! See *Templar*, §485.

6 *Templar*, §481: Royal, Templar, Hospitaller, Pisan and Venetian.

7 *Templar*, §487.

8 *Ibid.*

On 5 April 1291, Sultan Khalil al-Ashraf of Egypt appeared outside the city walls and began the siege. The “Templar of Tyre,” who was an eyewitness and participant until probably 18 May, gives a detailed account of events, which need not be repeated here. It is worth examining at least the actions of the military orders, however.

Part way through the siege, the Templars, in conjunction with other secular knights, mounted a night sally to try to burn siege engines which were causing damage to the defenses of the city. They were plagued with bad luck, however; the secular knight charged with setting the engines alight lost his nerve and failed to get close enough to accomplish the deed, and the Templars and other knights fell afoul of tent ropes, were tripped up, and lost many casualties.

Near the middle of May, Muslim troops managed to penetrate the defenses of the city, but a fierce counterattack led by the Hospitaller marshal Matthew of Clermont threw them back.⁹ By this time the city was in dire straits, however, and before dawn on 18 May, the Sultan sent an all-out attack. It crashed through the weakened outer defenses of Acre and began to pour inside.

Wakened from sleep, Master William of Beaujeu snatched up weapons, armored himself only lightly (which would prove to be a literally fatal mistake), and collected his household guard, the Hospitaller master John of Villiers and some Hospitaller knights, and any other secular forces he could find, and raced to the danger point. For hours this force and the Muslims were locked in combat, neither able to make any headway.

Then, about mid-morning, the Templar master, who had no shield, was struck by a javelin just as he raised his left hand. The missile almost certainly penetrated his thoracic cavity, and caused a wound which the master instantly knew to be mortal. He turned to go. Others around him, including the Templar standard-bearer, followed, and the defense began to collapse. Nearby Italian crusaders called to him in dismay, “Oh for God’s sake, Sir, don’t leave, or the city will fall at once!” But William called back to them that he could do no more, for “I am killed; see the wound here!” He began to lose consciousness immediately, and had to be carried back to the Templar fortress on the sea, where he died later that day.¹⁰

Just as the Italian crusaders had predicted, most of the city did fall that day – William was the lynchpin of the defense, and without him it collapsed. The Hospitaller master, John of Villiers, was critically injured and carried off the battlefield by members of his household, apparently against his will. The Hospitaller marshal Matthew of Clermont was killed in action. The surviving

9 *Excidium Aconis*, tr. R.B.C. Huygens, Turnhout, 2004, 71–74, lines 223–293.

10 *Templar*, §498.

Templars retreated into their powerful fortifications on the sea, where they took in large numbers of refugees. Some of these they sent off by ship,¹¹ but there were not enough ships to take off everyone, so the Templar fortress was filled with the rest of the terrified civilian survivors. For another ten days, the Templars resisted. Al-Ashraf negotiated a surrender with them, offering them safe-conduct out of the city if they would abandon it. Having little option, they agreed, but when Muslim troops came into the fortress to take control of it, they began to rape the civilian women and boys inside.¹² Outraged, the Templars took up their weapons, killed the Muslims, and resumed the defense.

Al-Ashraf was "most displeased by this turn of events," says the "Templar of Tyre."¹³ He sent more messengers to the cornered Templars, again offering them terms. When the Templar marshal, Peter of Sevrey and several others Templars came out to negotiate, however, he had them beheaded.

Resigned to their fate, the remaining Templars fought on till 28 May when the Muslims undermined the main Templar tower, brought it down, and overran the fortress, ending resistance.

The Templars in other places along the coast did not see any feasible way to go on resisting, and they abandoned Sidon and Château Pèlerin without a fight, successfully evacuating the civilian population of Sidon.¹⁴ Whether they were right or wrong in their appraisal of the situation is difficult to say. It had arguably been only the stubborn resistance of Tyre in 1187 that had maintained a beachhead for the Third Crusade, and the lack of such a beachhead certainly limited Christian options after 1291. But it was not only the Templars who gave up hope: the leadership of Tyre abandoned the city without a fight this time, but unlike the Templars, they left the population behind, and the people were massacred by the Muslims. Beirut tried to negotiate with Al-Ashraf, but was tricked, seized and destroyed.

The fall of the Holy Land sent shock waves through western Christendom. Someone had to be responsible for this disaster. As historians such as Malcolm Barber and Helen Nicholson have noted, the military orders and especially the

¹¹ *Templar*, §503.

¹² This is reported by the *Excidium*, 92, lines 713–723, and confirmed by Muslim chroniclers (see Abu l-Mahasin, in F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (New York, 1969), 34; Al-Yunini, cited by D.P. Little, 'The Fall of 'Akka in 690/1291: the Muslim Version,' in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon*, ed. M. Sharon (Jerusalem & Leiden, 1986), 175.

¹³ *Templar*, §507.

¹⁴ M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, 'The Military Orders and the Escape of the Christian Population from the Holy Land in 1291,' *Journal of Medieval History*, 19 (1993), 217. Favreau-Lilie says Sidon was completely evacuated because the Templars had control of it.

Templars were seen, not without reason, as being primarily responsible for the defense of the Holy Land generally, and al-Ashraf seems to have agreed.¹⁵ Because the military orders (even the small, lesser-known orders such as the Knights of St. Lazarus and the English Knights of St. Thomas) had played such a major role in the defense of the city, as we have seen, it was natural that critics should first look to them to find someone to blame for the calamity. Let us examine some of these critics.

Thaddeus of Naples, who had lived in Syria and so was at least familiar with the area which he was discussing, and who said he had firsthand reports from merchants in the region, was fairly critical.¹⁶ In his *Ystoria de desolatione et conculcatione civitatis Acconensis et tocius Terre Sancte*, written perhaps in December 1291,¹⁷ only the Teutonic Knights, whom he says all died in the fall of the city, escaped any criticism,¹⁸ while the Templars and Hospitallers came in for mixed treatment. William of Beaujeu, the Templar master who was killed on 18 May, is strongly praised, but the surviving Templars are subjected to a scathing denunciation: they “shrank back like cowards” from William’s fate, and, “as if lacking firm faith in the life to come, miserably prolonging a stubborn life for an uncertain span, to the disgrace of [their] holy vows and to the infamy of [their] order,” saved themselves at the expense of other Christians and the city of Acre.¹⁹ Thaddeus does acknowledge that the Templars exerted themselves, noting especially the night raid which they mounted, but this is apparently not enough, in his mind, to exculpate them entirely.

Thaddeus’ treatment of the Hospitallers is similarly equivocal. The Hospitaller Marshal Matthew of Clermont is praised for fighting to the death,²⁰ but the surviving Hospitallers are harshly condemned for having retreated and saved themselves. If only, says Thaddeus, the rest of the Hospital had fought to the death too, the other defenders of the city would have likewise stood firm,

15 Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), 283: ‘More than any of the other military orders the Temple was associated with the defence of the crusader states and the holy places’; H. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History*, Stroud, 2001, 198: ‘The military orders could not afford to appear idle. As defenders of the Holy Land, they were first in line to be blamed for its loss.’

16 Thaddeus of Naples, *Ystoria de desolatione et conculcatione civitatis Acconensis et tocius Terre Sancte*, tr. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout, 2004), 134, lines 896–8 (note that Huygens renders his name ‘Thadeus’).

17 R.B.C. Huygens, ‘Introduction’ to *Excidii Aconis gestorum collectio* (Turnhout, 2004), 11.

18 Thaddeus of Naples, 119–121, lines 513–548.

19 Thaddeus of Naples, 114–16; see esp. lines 426 (*tanquam pusillanimes horruistis*) and 441–3.

20 Thaddeus of Naples, 118, line 479–495.

and disaster could have been averted.²¹ The fate of Hospitaller Master John of Villiers, who was so critically injured that he probably died of his wounds a year or so later, and who had been carried off, perhaps against his own will,²² by members of his household staff, is ignored by Thaddeus. Apparently, to receive Thaddeus' admiration, one had to die fighting. To the neutral observer, this hardly seems fair.

The anonymous author of the *Excidium aconis* is not quite so vigorous in his criticism of the military orders, and spreads his blame around somewhat more judiciously, but he is still rather harsh. He suggests that a lack of unanimity between the masters of the Temple, the Hospital, and the other military orders hampered the defense of the city,²³ a remark that is doubtless true and which fits well with Jacques de Vitry's remark, as long before as the early thirteenth century, that the city of Acre was a "beast with nine heads fighting against each other."²⁴ However, the *Excidium* author explicitly blames the fall of the city on the breaking of the truce by the unruly Italian crusaders in 1290, rather than on the military orders' failures.²⁵ (It might be noted that in saying that Kelewan would not have attacked absent the provocation, the *Excidium* author is almost certainly wrong, as other evidence, including the witness of the "Templar of Tyre" noted above, strongly suggests that Kelawan had already determined to break the truce and take the city.) He does take great pains to praise the conduct of Matthew of Clermont, the Hospitaller marshal, describing in considerable detail both the way that Matthew threw back the Muslim incursion into the city in mid-May by his personal valor, and also the fact that the marshal was killed while attempting to duplicate the same feat on 18 May.²⁶ There is an emphasis on Matthew's conduct throughout the *Excidium*, but for the

21 Thaddeus of Naples, 119, lines 497–511.

22 See E.J. King, *The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land* (London, 1931), 302; J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310*, III (Paris, 1899), 592–93, #4157.

23 *Excidium*, 71–2, lines 226–232.

24 See D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus, Volume IV: The Cities of Acre and Tyre, with Addenda and Corrigenda to Volumes I–III* (Cambridge, 2009), 18: the communities included Syrian Jacobites, adherents of the Greek rite, Nestorians, Georgians, Armenians, Genoese, Pisans, Venetians and Franks (both poulains and immigrants). On this point see also S. Schein, 'Babylon and Jerusalem: the fall of Acre 1291–1996,' in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: the crusades and crusader societies 1095–1500 (selected proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 10–13 July 1995)*, ed. Alan V. Murray (Turnhout, 1998), 141–50.

25 *Excidium*, 49, line 56.

26 *Excidium* II: 250–293 and 680–98.

most part the author is not nearly as impressed with the conduct of the other military order brethren. In the end, he blames the military orders generally, and the Templars particularly, for treachery, cowardice and lack of cooperation.²⁷

There were other voices raised in criticism, often writers from the West without firsthand experience of warfare against the Muslims. For example, the author of the *Dunstable Annales*, suggested that the fall of Acre was due to contention between the Templars and the Hospitallers, and to their supposedly self-indulgent living.²⁸ Marino Sanudo, writing probably in the second or third decade of the fourteenth century, barely mentioned the Templars, though generally without disapprobation when he did notice them; he did claim that the Templars who had abandoned Sidon did so because they were “smitten with fear.”²⁹

Not all the voices raised in subsequent years condemned the military orders’ conduct at Acre in 1291 at all. The so-called “Templar of Tyre,” a Cypriot knight who served as secretary to Grand Master William of Beaujeu and apparently played a role in maintaining the Templars’ intelligence network, had no words of criticism for the Templars’ role in the events leading up to, and including, the fall of the city, though he was ready enough to criticize their conduct in the immediate aftermath, and had shown himself quite willing to criticize them earlier as well.³⁰ But before the siege, he describes William as essentially the only man who actually grasped the gravity of the situation,³¹ and during the siege, he shows the Templars as fighting desperately and valiantly, to the bitter end. One might discount his testimony because he himself was connected to the Order, but it is clear that he was an eyewitness to much of what he describes, both in the negotiations with the Muslims and in the actual combat, and there is no evidence to contradict his reports, or reason to disbelieve them. If the “Templar of Tyre’s” witness is to be discounted anywhere, it would be more reasonable to do so because he may have simply downplayed the role of the

27 See P. Crawford, *An Institution in Crisis: the Military Orders, 1291–1310*, unpub. PhD diss., 18.

28 *Annales de Dunstaplia*, in *Annales monastici*, Vol. III, *Annales prioratus de Dunstaplia: annales monasterii de Bermundeseia* (Rolls Series 36), ed. H. Luard, London, 1866, 366; Crawford, *Institution*, 16.

29 Marino Sanudo, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis super Terrae Sanctae recuperatione et conservatione*, ed. J. Bongars, Hanover, 1611, repr. Toronto, 1972, 232: *timore percussi*.

30 *Templar*, §510, for criticism; see also §318, where he sharply condemns their refusal to accept Baibars’ offer of a 2-for-1 Christian-Muslim slave exchange.

31 Contrary to Favreau-Lilie, ‘Military Orders and Escape,’ 209, who says that the Templars ‘recognized the seriousness of the situation only at the end of the siege’ – this is clearly not the case.

other major military order, the Hospitallers, in part because of his association with their rival, but in part because he saw more of what the Templars were doing, and concomitantly less of what the Hospitallers were doing; after all, he was with the former and not the latter.

Writing some decades later in the fourteenth century,³² Ludolph of Sudheim blames the Italian merchants, “by whose accursed quarrels the city was lost.”³³ To him, the Templar master William of Beaujeu was “a very wise and brave knight,” who did his best to avert the catastrophe.³⁴ He was the “especial friend” of the Sultan, which could be interpreted negatively, but in context seems merely to underscore the indications of a good working relationship which the Templar of Tyre had described.³⁵ According to Ludolph, because of this friendship, the Sultan proposed to leave Acre alone if the residents each paid a tribute of “one Venetian penny” (which is not a likely story, given what we know about Kelewan’s intentions), but although the Templar master was “very glad” to hear this, Ludolph says that the people in Acre called him a traitor for proposing such a solution, and that William “hardly escaped alive.”³⁶ The Templars and other orders put up a fierce fight, says Ludolph, claiming that only the military order knights resisted adequately at all, but that they were nearly all slain (the latter statement at least being true enough).³⁷ In the end, the Templars undermined their own fortress, he says somewhat improbably, so that parts of it would collapse on the Saracens, leading the Saracens to offer treacherous terms of surrender. Correctly, Ludolph notes that the Saracens did not keep their word regarding the terms, and slaughtered or enslaved all those who yielded.³⁸ Overall, for Ludolph, the Templars and other military orders were heroes of almost comic-book proportions, and it was the people of Acre who brought destruction on themselves, in spite of the best the military orders could do, both diplomatically and militarily.

Christopher of Cyprus, writing a rather vivid description of events from the perspective of the late 15th c.,³⁹ likewise refrains from harsh criticism of the

32 Apparently c. 1350.

33 Ludolph von Suchem [Sudheim], *Description of the Holy Land and of the Way Thither*, tr. A. Stewart, (London, 1895), in *The Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, XII, 53 (note that each work in this volume has its own pagination).

34 Ludolph von Suchem, 55.

35 Ludolph von Suchem, 55.

36 Ludolph von Suchem, 55–6.

37 Ludolph von Suchem, 57.

38 Ludolph von Suchem, 59–60.

39 Christopher of Cyprus, *Chronicae rerum gestarum Genuensium*, in *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Franciscano*, 11, ed. G. Golubovich, Florence, 1913.

military orders, and in fact paints them more in the light of valiant victims than guilty parties.⁴⁰ The Templars and Hospitallers tried to talk the sultan (whom Christopher mis-names as Baibars) out of the attack, without success, says Christopher. He characterizes the Templar and Hospitaller masters as holding public office in the city, which is probably not technically true.⁴¹ Christopher depicts the Hospitallers and Templars as “experienced men”⁴² who worked wisely with Henry II; it was they, he says (again perhaps inaccurately) who warned the king of the impending danger and, according to his view mostly they and the king of Cyprus who conducted the defense of the doomed city.⁴³ At last, he says, the “manful knights” of the Temple and Hospital were forced to withdraw together.⁴⁴ Christopher is confused about which master survived, thinking it was the Templar master not the Hospitaller, but he notes, correctly, that almost all the Templars were killed.⁴⁵ He depicts the Hospitallers as carrying out a fighting retreat to their ships, where, he notes, they were not keen to take on refugees (a statement supporting Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie in her 1993 contention that only the Templars made much effort to save the civilian population of the Holy Land in 1291⁴⁶). This last is essentially the only criticism Christopher allows himself.⁴⁷ By the later fifteenth century, apparently, memories had softened.

In the years following 1291, then, we have two schools of thought on the performance of the military orders in Acre in that year.

One, coming essentially from writers such as Thaddeus of Naples and the anonymous author of the *Excidium*, tends to be harsh and critical, and to blame the military orders for the loss. Those military order knights who actually lost their lives in the siege, such as Matthew of Clermont, may come off rather well, but those who survived are harshly criticized.

The other school may be divided into two parts: the eyewitness and participant who wrote the “Templar of Tyre,” and later writers such as Christopher of

Christopher lauds the Genoese merchants who took off refugees, unsurprisingly for the author of a Genoese chronicle.

40 Christopher of Cyprus, 204–8.

41 Christopher of Cyprus, 205: *qui Aconis urbis principiatum tenebant*; they were probably consulted but not officially voting members (see above).

42 *Viri annosi*.

43 Christopher of Cyprus, 205.

44 Christopher of Cyprus, 207: *Templarii ac Hospitalarii equites viriliter confluentes, eos retrocedere fecerunt*.

45 Ibid.

46 Favreau-Lilie, ‘Military Orders and Escape,’ 227.

47 Christopher of Cyprus, 207.

Cyprus and Ludolph of Sudheim. The “Templar” is generally a meticulous, judicious chronicler of events that he himself had actually witnessed, as I have argued elsewhere, and he displays those same qualities here.⁴⁸ The “Templar of Tyre” provides no good reason for believing that the military orders were guilty of sins either of omission or commission, but rather he paints a picture of gallant men who did the best they could to save the city. By the time Ludolph of Sudheim and, later, Christopher of Cyprus were writing, events were fading into near-fantasy, though it is interesting all the same to see how the reputation of the military orders in general and the Templars in particular had, over time, survived and apparently even improved, at least in some quarters.

So which school was right? Were the Templars and other military orders remiss in their duties, or did they do all they could, simply being overpowered by the disunited circumstances of Christian Syria in the late thirteenth century, and the overwhelming force which the Mamluks could bring to bear on them?

It seems certain that the military orders’ participation in the factional strife of the region did nothing to strengthen it. For time’s sake, I have left undiscussed the involvement of the Hospitallers in the quarrel between the Prince of Antioch-Tripoli, for example, or the role of both major orders in the incessant battles of the Italian cities, but it could hardly have been helpful. But they did not create these circumstances, and it could reasonably be argued that they did the best they could, as they saw it, in the midst of them.

There is one other interesting detail that one might consider when attempting to reach a judgement. Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie has argued that Sidon was completely and successfully evacuated in 1291 because the Templars had undisputed control of that city.⁴⁹ If that is true – and I think it is – then one can hardly escape speculating on what might have happened had the Templars had similar control of Acre. As matters did play out, it seems to have been the Templars who were primarily responsible for what evacuation attempts were made at Acre, however inadequate the attempts were. If Acre, like Sidon, had belonged entirely to the Temple, might the retreat, at least, have been managed better, more compassionately, more wisely?

That leads us into alternative history, of course, and we cannot certainly know the answer to the question. However, it seems clear that the Templars and Hospitallers did *try* their best to fill the leadership void left in the Kingdom of Jerusalem by the lack of a resident king and by drawn-out succession

48 P. Crawford, ‘Introduction’ to *The ‘Templar of Tyre,’* 10–11.

49 M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, ‘The Military Orders and the Escape of the Christian Population from the Holy Land in 1291,’ *Journal of Medieval History*, 19 (1993), 217.

squabbles, but their status as religious orders, and the insoluble problem of a lack of recognized central authority, constantly frustrated them. Of the two major orders, the Templars took the lead and even appear, at least on the pages of the eyewitness “Templar of Tyre,” to have done as thorough, intelligent, and effective a job as they could manage.

Perhaps they *were* more concerned about their own agendas than they were about the agendas of the other Christian players in the area, and undoubtedly they thereby antagonized some of those players – not all of whom, it must be said, come off particularly well themselves in 1290–91. These antagonisms doubtless colored some of the reports of events, too, but that is both to be expected, and also not necessarily fair to the military orders. There seem no grounds whatever for accusing the military orders of cowardice, though there were other players, such as the administration of Tyre, whose actions did indeed make them very vulnerable to such a charge.

On the whole, then, I think the answer to our original question as to their culpability for the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem has to be: Not guilty.

The Fall of Acre, 1291, and Its Effect on Cyprus

Anne Gilmour-Bryson

Introduction

There is no doubt whatsoever that the Fall of Acre in 1291, the capture of the last major bastion in the Latin East, had an effect not only on *Outremer*, the name by which the Franks referred to the area of the crusades, but throughout what we now call Europe. Here, I am looking specifically only at the island of Cyprus and how it was affected in the twenty or so years after the Fall. As the Templar of Tyre wrote: “And so the land is lost/ And great harm done....”¹ As Peter Edbury put it: “Cyprus itself was now vulnerable as the sole outpost of western Christendom in the eastern Mediterranean.”² The principal scholarly resources for the island at this time have been very much enriched by the publication of *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191–1374*.³

I also profited greatly from the three-volume work by Pierre Vincent Claverie,⁴ and, of course, as a foundation for all work on medieval Cyprus, Peter Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades* mentioned above, as well as his collection, *Crusade and Settlement*.⁵ Among the all too few primary sources I am grateful to Paul Crawford for his translation of *The Templar of Tyre*,⁶ the chronicles known as Amadi and Bustron,⁷ sources quoted by Claverie in volume 3, and scholarly works by Louis and René de Mas Latrie.⁸

1 P. Crawford (tr.), *The Templar of Tyre* (Aldershot, 2003), 129.

2 P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191–1374* (New York, 1991), 101.

3 N. Konnari and C. Schabel, (eds), *Cyprus Society and Culture 1191–1374* (Leiden, 2005).

4 *L'Ordre du Temple en Terre Sainte et a Chypre au XIIIe siècle* (Nicosia, 2006).

5 P. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement: papers read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and presented to R.C. Smail* (Cardiff, 1985).

6 See note 1.

7 *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1891–1893). *Chronique de l'Ile de Chypre par Florio Bustron*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1886).

8 I consulted René and Louis Mas Latrie in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and the Pontifical Library in Toronto. Putting the Mas Latrie name into Google brings up a host of very useful links to their work both on the internet and in libraries.

Cyprus before the Fall of Acre

Western settlers in Cyprus, arrived to join the indigent Greek population mostly after 1192 when Guy of Lusignan acquired the island from the Order of the knighthood of the Temple and became king.⁹ Western social ideology came to be implanted on the pre-existing Byzantine society.¹⁰ Franks, who occupied the highest positions in government and society, were definitely privileged over Greeks or others.¹¹

When looking at Cypriot royalty, we must take note of what Edbury wrote concerning the fact that the Cypriot kings were only able to marry into non-local families in the fourteenth century.¹² "Clearly the Lusignans were not perceived as appropriate marriage partners for the highest rank of Western European royalty; at best they were seen on a par with cadet lines."¹³ Nevertheless, Cypriot laws and procedures 'copied those used in the Kingdom of Jerusalem' rather than those overseas.¹⁴ Cyprus was not a mirror image of the west. The major difference between local nobility and those in the west is that a Cypriot noble held 'any fortified town or a fortress of any military significance as part of his fief' which was not common elsewhere.¹⁵ Another important difference between Cyprus and the west is that on the island nobles did not have courts of their own at the same level as they did in Europe. "... justice was the prerogative of the crown."¹⁶ In other words, the Cypriot monarchs were exceptionally powerful compared to many European royals.

Cyprus became very useful to crusader ships serving as a stopping-off place to acquire supplies or a place to rest or wait before continuing to the Holy Land itself. King Louis IX, St Louis, spent eight months on Cyprus in 1248.¹⁷ The Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem as well as the Templars, and other monastic groups, had various properties on the island.¹⁸

The Arab conquests came to a head in 1289 when King Henry II of Cyprus sent his brother Amaury to Tripoli to assist in its defence, a fruitless effort.¹⁹

9 Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 13–22.

10 A. Nicolaou-Konnari, C. Schabel, *Cyprus Society and Culture 1191–1374* (Leiden, 2005).

11 Edbury, 'Franks,' in *Cyprus Society and Culture*, 80.

12 Ibid., 72

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid., 76.

15 Ibid., 79.

16 Ibid., 80.

17 Ibid., 75.

18 See, for example, Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 77–78.

19 On the fight in Tripoli, see *Templar of Tyre*, 100–101.

Only two years later the Mamluks, coming from Egypt, conquered Acre after a long and bloody fight.²⁰ According to current scholarship, the loss of Acre came about from the pitifully small total of fighting men available to the Latin Kingdom at the time. We are led to believe that the Mamluks had 70,000 knights and 140,000 foot soldiers while the Latin Kingdom only had 7–800 knights and less than 14,000 foot soldiers.²¹ Papal galleys “armed in Venice” aided Acre, but nevertheless the city fell.²² As Edbury wrote “The Muslim conquest of Acre and the other cities on the coast of Syria in 1291 transformed the political situation in the East.”²³ Chroniclers writing in the fourteenth-century tell us that women on Cyprus dressed in black even after many years in mourning for the loss of Acre and the Holy Land.²⁴ While those in the west may have forgotten the loss of the Holy Land, preoccupied as they were with new problems, for those who remained, the change in the state of affairs was memorable. The situation in Cyprus was considered to have worsened after 1285 but it was the fall of Tripoli in 1289 which sealed the fate of Acre as the dominoes continued to topple.²⁵

Now I will turn to Amadi, as I shall refer to the author of the chronicle, who informs us that in 1290 the Sultan of Babylon came to Acre with 70,000 mounted men and 150,000 foot-soldiers while Acre itself had only 40,000 men, women, and prostitutes including 700 horsemen and 800 foot-soldiers along with about 13,000 crusaders.²⁶ Both sides’ numbers, nevertheless, are probably greatly exaggerated. Amadi then describes the unfolding of events until Acre fell.²⁷ He relates that the invaders then took over the other Christian possessions in Syria, one by one.²⁸ As in fact they did.

Cyprus after the Fall of Acre

“Nearby Syria is an isle called Cyprus, most rich and good and full of all sorts of growing things. There were many lovely towns on this isle ...” as the Templar of

20 Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 98.

21 P. Claverie, *L'Ordre du Temple en Terre Sainte et à Chypre au XIII^e siècle* 2 vols. (Nicosia 2006 and Cardiff 1985) 2: 87, citing Huygens, *Excidium Aconis*, 52–54.

22 *Templar of Tyre*, 101–102, 106–118.

23 Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 101.

24 Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 109.

25 Claverie, II, 84.

26 Amadi, 219–20.

27 Amadi, 220–27.

28 Amadi, 227.

Tyre put it.²⁹ As this author went on to write: "Those who escaped from Acre and the other places of Syria retreated to this island, but they were in great poverty. Even if there was anyone there who had been able to bring away something of his own and carry it to Cyprus with him, it was worth less than half of what it had been, because foodstuffs were in great scarcity." Crop failures were frequent in the 1290s.³⁰ Houses which had rented for ten bezants yearly now cost one-hundred.³¹ And as we know, "the pope and all of Christendom ... were most sorrowful of heart" when they learned that Acre had fallen "on account of the poor Christians who were lost and ... the shame to Christendom."³² We are told that attempts began straight away in Cyprus to attack "the boldness of the sultan" by sending twenty galleys to assist in the defence effort.³³ The sultan of Babylon ordered one-hundred emirs to arm one-hundred galleys to go out to destroy all the remaining Christians.³⁴ The Genoese and the Venetians came to Cyprus with their boats.³⁵ And from about 1291 the Pisans also had a presence on Cyprus.³⁶ But in 1293 war broke about between Genoa and Venice.³⁷

After the Fall of Acre, there were apparently about 100,000 refugees from Syria requiring food and shelter, food distributed by orders of King Henry II's wife.³⁸ Some have suggested there were 10,000 refugees in the Templar precinct in Acre before the fall but numbers from medieval chronicles are notoriously unreliable.

The papacy sent galleys to defend Cyprus and 'la petite Arménie' from Muslim attacks.³⁹ Much information is available on the attempts of the Temple and others in Cyprus to defend the island. Unfortunately, Philip of Ibelin who was on board the Templar squadron was unable to persuade the Venetians not to engage the Genoese in combat rather than fighting the Muslim enemy.⁴⁰ The in-fighting between Pisa, Genoa, and Venice in these

29 *Templar of Tyre*, 119.

30 Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 101.

31 *Templar of Tyre*, 119. See also Amadi, 227.

32 *Ibid.*, 121.

33 *Ibid.*, 121.

34 *Ibid.*, 122.

35 *Templar of Tyre*, 131–32. On differences and struggles between the Genoese and the Venetians see 138–43.

36 Nicholas Coureas, 'Economy,' in *Cyprus Society and Culture*, 134.

37 Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 103.

38 Claverie, I, 389.

39 Claverie, I, 78. Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 102. Amadi, 228, gives ten galleys sent from Ancona and ten others from Genoa.

40 Claverie, I, 79. See also, Amadi, 230–31 who suggests that the Venetians sent twenty-five galleys to Cyprus.

waters certainly did not assist the supposed aim which was the defeat of the infidel. It would appear that the order of the Temple and the Hospitallers stayed out of the internecine Italian battles.⁴¹ In 1299–1300 there was a considerable amount of raiding and attacking the Cypriot coast by Mamluks who achieved very little.⁴² By late 1305 the king ordered all the Genoese to leave Cyprus.⁴³ In spite of various raids, “there was no serious Muslim invasion until the 1420s.”⁴⁴

Cyprus and Its Commercial Products

Cyprus was extremely important for its production of wheat, oil, and barley at a time when drought made adequate foodstuffs often unavailable.⁴⁵ Until about 1255 most peasants were tied to the land. Nevertheless, Housley states that “... the legal status and economic condition of the peasantry appear to have improved steadily under Frankish rule.”⁴⁶ Shortly before the Fall of Acre, the Templars were exporting 18 tons of wheat, 6 of barley, and 6 tons of oats.⁴⁷ The production of wheat and barley in one Templar property on Cyprus produced enough to feed five-hundred fighting men by around 1318.⁴⁸ In spite of this production, the island imported wheat, salt, pork, cheese, wine, and rye at various times.⁴⁹ It is very odd that some of the items imported were items that Cyprus usually produced and often exported. According to local records, the island imported “wine, oil, ... sandalwood, Florentine cloths and silks, French cloths, coarse cloths, canvasses, and soap” some of the very items they were exporting according to the same documents.⁵⁰ Cyprus exported to Europe around 1302 many tons of cotton and especially “cendres” or ashes for making glass.⁵¹ In fact, Cypriot industries exported large amounts of their products including “cowhides, soap, saffron, beef tripe, gowns, and felt hats.”⁵² The

41 Claverie, I, 79.

42 Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 104–5.

43 Ibid., III.

44 Edbury, ‘Franks,’ 93.

45 Coureas, ‘Economy,’ 136.

46 N. Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580* (Oxford, 1992), 185.

47 Claverie, I, 385.

48 Claverie, I, 324.

49 Claverie, I, 385.

50 Coureas, ‘Economy,’ 145.

51 Claverie, I, 331.

52 Coureas, ‘Economy,’ 104, 139.

Order of the Temple was also renowned for its forges making horse-shoes among other articles such as armour and weapons of all sorts.⁵³ Even four years after the Fall of Acre, Templars were still sending wheat, barley, and grains to the east indicating that they had produced a surplus.⁵⁴ Forest products such as pine-tree lumber for use in masts, as well as salt from the local salt-mines, were frequently sent to Europe.⁵⁵ Cyprus's cereal grains represented its most important farm produce. Other exportable goods included "... sugar, the most remunerative export in the fourteenth century, molasses, cotton from about 1300, olive oil, fleeces, wax, honey, wine, camlets [a form of woven cloth often from goats], samites [rich silk cloth], and silk itself."⁵⁶ We must underline the important trade between Cyprus and Crete particularly in the early fourteenth century. Boats from Crete to Cyprus would carry "grain, cereals, pulses, cheese, and olive oil ... purchasing salt and sugar on their return voyage."⁵⁷ An unconfirmed remark by "Marino Sanudo the Elder observed that enough sugar was produced on Cyprus around 1320"⁵⁸ to provision all of western Europe. Sugar was both expensive and rare at the time. Wine was an important commodity for export particularly after about 1300.⁵⁹ Salt was also exported, particularly to Venice.⁶⁰ Carob was exported as well according to deeds from 1300–1302.⁶¹ Slaves were sent from Cyprus to Egypt and the ships would return to Cyprus with a cargo of spices.⁶²

In spite of the tragic losses, four years later, after the fall, James of Molay, the last grand master, distributed large quantities of wheat.⁶³ This export took place in spite of grave shortages in Cyprus itself. In order to have sufficient grain to distribute to locals in need, wheat and other grains were imported from Apulia.⁶⁴ The period 1304–07 saw large amounts of food sent to Cyprus which suffered a serious famine in the late-thirteenth century.⁶⁵ We are told that more than one-thousand tons of cereal grains were exported to Cyprus

53 Claverie, I, 332.

54 Ibid., 389.

55 Coureas, 'Economy,' 105.

56 Ibid., 106, 110–11.

57 Ibid., 150.

58 Ibid., 111.

59 Ibid., 106–07.

60 Ibid., 107.

61 Ibid., 108–09.

62 Ibid., 151–52.

63 Claverie, I, 389–90.

64 Ibid., 390–91.

65 Ibid., 390–91.

from the west during the thirteenth century.⁶⁶ Catalan commanderies of the Temple sent agricultural supplies to Cyprus.⁶⁷ In fact, at this time, the Order of the Temple exported one thousand tons of cereal to Cyprus from *Outremer* reversing the previous outflow.⁶⁸ During the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries, more cereals from Apulia and Catalonia had to be imported to Cyprus because of drought and crop failure.⁶⁹ Cypriot farmers and their slaves tended cows, goats, sheep, horses, mules, and donkeys. Camels were often used as pack animals.⁷⁰ Obviously, there were considerable numbers of domestic animals on the island. On Cyprus and its agricultural products, climate, and fertility, see Jean Richard's, many writings on the subject.⁷¹

Cyprus International Relations

As early as 1291, according to the king of Aragon, ambassadors were sent from Cyprus to Cairo, where, unfortunately the sultan imprisoned them. Once king Henry II regained Cyprus he, in turn, sent a new ambassador to Egypt.⁷² The sultan sent an insolent message to William of Beaujeu, Master of the Temple:

The Sultan of Sultans, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, al-Malik al-Ashraf, the Powerful, the Dreadful, the Scourge of Rebels, Hunter of Franks and Tartars and Armenians, Snatcher of Castles from the Hands of Miscreants ... Greetings ... Because you have been a true man, so we send you advance notice of our intentions, and give you to understand that we are coming into your parts to right the wrongs which have been done.⁷³

We must remember that efforts to reconquer the Holy Land after 1291 usually involved the island of Cyprus. One of the first such projects began in 1291–1293 involving the kings of France, England, Castile, Germany, and Sicily. It was described as a “passage générale,” or a crusade ordered by the pope involving virtually all Christians.⁷⁴ After the Fall of Acre, “Cyprus was the only christian

66 Ibid., 402.

67 Ibid., 391.

68 Ibid., 407.

69 Claverie II, 313–14.

70 Coureas, ‘Economy,’ 114.

71 Bibliographic notes in Housley, *Later Crusades*, 478.

72 Claverie, II, 44..

73 Templar of Tyre, 104–5. Also quoted by Amadi, 220.

74 Claverie, II, 232.

state, with the exception of Armenia," where the western nobility had relatives and financial interests.⁷⁵ Pope Boniface VIII had insisted that Cyprus was the main place from which the western people could take back the "lost land."⁷⁶ In other words, Cyprus was an essential part of the west's plan to continue crusading.⁷⁷ We must never forget that the west did not consider the Holy Land definitively lost at this time.

In March, 1300, James of Molay attempted to put together a fleet to go to the Levant in an attempt to take back the Holy Land.⁷⁸ The island of Tortosa was defended by the Templars, the Hospitallers, and Teutonic knights, arriving on board a Venetian ship in February, 1301.⁷⁹ The king's brother, Amaury, Lord of Tyre, Templars, Hospitallers and others had to retire from Tortosa due to the Saracen arrival in 1302.⁸⁰ That same year, there were allegedly six-hundred knights on Ruad who abandoned the place to the Muslims in 1302.⁸¹ James of Molay, meanwhile was in Limassol.⁸²

At about this time, boats regularly travelled from Famagusta to Barcelona at a cost of 270 Barcelona pounds per passenger. The boat stopped to take on more passengers in Limassol. In the fourteenth century, Famagusta, a very busy, active port was enjoying a commercial boom. It was one of the three great ports of the Eastern Mediterranean.⁸³ The Genoese and the Venetians were vital to Cypriot maritime trade when they were not waging war with one another.⁸⁴ Trade was also conducted by merchants from Marseilles, Montpellier, Narbonne, and Catalans from Spain.⁸⁵

James of Molay was awaiting the arrival of Christian allies, the Tartars, often called Mongols, in Tortosa.⁸⁶ In 1298 the Grand Khan of the Tartars sent a letter

75 Ibid., 242.

76 Ibid., 247.

77 See, Housley, 21–22 for events in Cyprus at this time.

78 Claverie, II, 261.

79 Ibid., 264. On Cypriot galleys arriving on Tortosa and putting the Tartars to flight, see *Templar of Tyre*, 156–57.

80 *Templar of Tyre*, 158. And see Amadi, 238–39.

81 Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 106.

82 Claverie, II, 265.

83 Coureas, 'Economy', 129–31.

84 Ibid., 130–32.

85 Ibid., 133. On the subject of foreign traders and their influence on Cyprus, see M. Balard, 'L'activité commerciale en Chypre dans les années 1300,' in P. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement*, 251–263, 2 especially 253–255. During the period 1296–1310. according to Balard, 257, Genoa had 22.62%, Ancona, 14.93%, and Venice only 8.02% of the trade.

86 Claverie, II, 266.

via messenger to Cyprus saluting the king and the masters of the Temple, the Hospital, and the Germans, and captains of the army and offering to assist them in fighting the Saracens.⁸⁷ In 1301, Boniface VIII, touched by the great efforts of the Templars to hold remaining parts of the Holy Land gave the half of the island of Rouad which did not belong to them to the *ordo militiae Templi*.⁸⁸

Illustrating the ever present dangers facing the western host in the area, Amadi describes the kidnapping of the wife of Count Guy of Ibelin along with some of her sons and daughters, after taking considerable riches from their castle.⁸⁹ James of Molay, we are told talked the perpetrators into releasing the hostages at a price of thirty-five thousand silver pounds of Tours.⁹⁰ Unfortunately for the crusading effort, some time in late 1302, although the date is unsure, a Mongol force in several galleys arrived at Rouad.⁹¹ In 1302, the island and the property of La Roche Guillaume were overcome by the Muslims.⁹² At least one-hundred and two Christian knights perished or were taken prisoner in the battle.⁹³ In 1302, the Saracen Turks overran the kingdom of Armenia putting more pressure on Cyprus.⁹⁴

On 8 August 1303 the area was hit by a major earthquake, which damaged Rhodes and Candia in particular.⁹⁵ The fear caused by this even led to a proclamation that a bell would be rung each day at dawn at which time every Christian must say three Our Fathers and three Hail Marys.⁹⁶ In this period, it was believed that earthquakes, tornadoes, and other natural occurrences were God-given in punishment or as a warning to the population that they had been misbehaving or not sufficiently christian.

In 1305 a treaty was signed between the Mamluks and the Order of the Temple with regard to the Armenian border.⁹⁷

In 1306 Amaury, younger brother of the king and seneschal of the island, took over the government of Cyprus by agreement with a conclave of the local nobles.⁹⁸ It appears that Amaury was considered a more aggressive and

87 Amadi, 234.

88 Claverie, II, 266.

89 Amadi, 238.

90 Ibid.

91 Claverie, II, 266–67.

92 Ibid., 307.

93 Claverie, II, 307.

94 *Templar of Tyre*, 160.

95 Amadi, 239.

96 Amadi, 239. On a monastery ruined by an earthquake, see Amadi, 349.

97 Claverie, II, 270.

98 *Templar of Tyre*, 167; on the coup, see Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 113–17.

capable military leader than his brother Henry. The following day, his mother learned of this coup and came on horseback to remonstrate with her younger son, saying: "Amalric, what is this you are doing against the king who is your brother and your lord?"⁹⁹ Amaury succeeded in convincing a council of nobles that he should govern and they sent a deposition to the king telling him:

We Sire have come before you because you are diseased in your body and unable to attend properly to the government of the kingdom and likewise because of numerous conflicts which have occurred ... between you and numerous persons, and especially with the Genoese, therefore we have, in court, ordained ... that your brother Lord Sir Amalric of Tyre should be governor.¹⁰⁰

In spite of the king's spirited attempt to stay in power, including a reference to the leper king of Jerusalem, Baldwin IV, Amaury prevailed. He also granted a franchise to Venice suggesting that Venice, and not Genoa, was behind this takeover. Whatever the reality of this situation, in 1306 the Genoese protested in Nicosia in favour of Amaury and not the king in spite of the fact that the commune of Genoa was not behind these actions.¹⁰¹ Amadi insists that Grand Master James of Molay had lent Amaury fifty-thousand bezants and that bishop Peter Erlant was involved in the discussions leading to the takeover.¹⁰² King Henry was still protesting as he sent two Minor Friars to Amaury requesting a written copy of their agreement regarding the takeover.¹⁰³

In a letter of 1306, James of Molay wanted to host a meeting in Cyprus about the proposed union of the Templars with that of the Hospitallers to take place in the summer of 1307, a date which tragically was only months before the arrests of members of the Templar order.¹⁰⁴ In May of 1306 the Hospitallers, who like the Templars had their *Outremer* headquarters on Cyprus, made a deal with the Genoese to capture the island of Rhodes, which became Hospitaller headquarters in 1310.¹⁰⁵

99 *Templar of Tyre*, 168.

100 *Templar of Tyre*, 168. See a discussion of Amadi and the Templar of Tyre and other sources in Mas Latrie's comments in Amadi, 242–47.

101 *Templar of Tyre*, 173–74.

102 Amadi, 248.

103 *Ibid.*, 251.

104 Claverie, II, 216. The earliest arrests took place on October 13, 1307, or shortly thereafter.

105 On the successful Hospitaller efforts to capture Rhodes, see Amadi, 256–59 and the works of A. Luttrell and J. Riley-Smith.

Cyprus was relatively peaceful in 1308 and 1309 although Amaury's hopes for a crusade did not find favour with pope Clement v. In 1309 Amaury managed to capture and imprison several of the highest Cypriot nobility.¹⁰⁶ In the same year Amaury attempted to get the nobles to agree to go on crusade to recover the Holy Land, exhorting them in no uncertain terms to get their men, horses and arms together and to prepare to protect their wives and children from the expected perils.¹⁰⁷

Where financial institutions are concerned, we need to recognise that in the early fourteenth century the Sienese bankers who had held sway were wiped out in favour of the Bardi and Peruzzi who participated in the "curatelle" oversight of the church in Nicosia after its bishop was suspended in 1303.¹⁰⁸

There is no question that the papacy and undoubtedly much of Europe continued to strive to reconquer the Holy Land. In 1306, Humbert Blanc, the Templar commander of the Auvergne, convinced the pope to give the direction and control of this effort to an admiral from Marseilles, Pierre de Langres. It seems to have been yet one more attempt to get rid of the dreaded Saracens. The chaplain on board received the right to grant a plenary absolution to the ship's company and also to all those who sold forbidden merchandise to the East. He could also remove previous sentences of excommunication levied against those merchants.¹⁰⁹

In 1306, Amaury Lord of Tyre managed a coup d'état which took over power, eventually exiling the king, Henry II to Armenia.¹¹⁰ Although the king had supporters among the nobility of the island, he ended 1306 holed up in his "hôtel" with some of his aristocratic relatives. The king capitulated on 31 January, 1307, when, presumably, he realised he did not have enough support to oppose his brother.¹¹¹ Apparently, the summer of 1307 was tense after a four-month cease-fire was imposed in April.¹¹² In 1308 a vital meeting took place between the bishops of Paphos, Limassol, and Famagusta plus the masters of the Temple and the Hospital, Friars Minor, Dominicans, Carmelites and all the other

106 *Templar of Tyre*, 181.

107 Amadi, 301.

108 Claverie, I, 405.

109 Claverie, II, 270.

110 Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 125, discusses the difficulty of looking at the events of Amaury's murder from Amadi.

111 Claverie, II, 255.

112 Ibid., 256. On the conflict between the king's supporters and those of Amaury, see Amadi, 261–63.

Frankish clergy who met with the king who signed a letter handing over the government of Cyprus to his brother.¹¹³

Amadi tells us that the year 1308 was a very bad one for the island kingdom. A severe drought took place causing a lack of wheat and other grains; a pestilence also hit the crops.¹¹⁴ For months, the people, including the governor and the nobles, marched in procession praying God to alleviate their woes.¹¹⁵ Cyprus had to face a Mamluk offensive in the spring of that year. Edbury reminds us that "Cyprus lacked the resources to police the seas adequately, let alone weaken the Mamluk sultanate on land ... western assistance was necessary for any effective Christian military action in the East..."¹¹⁶

In 1310, after the murder of his brother Amaury, Henry II was restored as king of the island on 27 August.¹¹⁷ Simon of Montolive, member of a local noble family, accomplished Amaury's murder, but nothing is known of his motive.¹¹⁸ Amadi insists that the king had attempted to make peace with his brother but that this did not occur.¹¹⁹ Since Simon was one of Amaury's knights, under the conventions of feudalism, he should have been faithful to him and not to the exiled monarch. After the murder, many of the island's nobility favoured the absent king whatever their allegiances may have been earlier.¹²⁰ Civil war in June 1310 followed the assassination of Amaury.¹²¹ On September 10 the king returned in triumph to Nicosia received by "nobles, turcopoles, burghers, common people, and Hospitallers."¹²² In 1311, there was an abortive effort to put Amaury's son in as head of the kingdom of Cyprus but it was not effective. Various ringleaders of the revolt were sentenced to death by drowning.¹²³

113 Amadi, 266.

114 Ibid., 292.

115 Ibid., 292–93.

116 Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 134.

117 Amaury's murder followed his exile to Armenia in February 1310, Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 125. For details on Henry's return to power, see Amadi 338–68. For his triumphant arrival in Famagusta, see Amadi, 379, 83.

118 On Simon of Montolive, see Amadi, 329–31.

119 Amadi, 328.

120 Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 125–27. On the actions of various members of the Cypriot nobility, see Amadi, 381–83.

121 Claverie, II, 300.

122 Amadi, 383: "... il re Henrico intrò in Nicosia con grande honor, ricevuto da li cavalierie, borgesì, comuni populo et Hospitalieri..."

123 Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 130. The effects of all these affairs on the local nobility can be followed in Edbury, *ibid.*, 130–31. On exactly who was involved and what happened to them, see Amadi, 391–93. For other information on those dying in prison see Amadi, 397–98.

Cypriot finances were left in grave difficulty by all of these intrigues and plots.¹²⁴ The kingdom still owed thirty-thousand bezants from a Genoese loan dating from 1306. Troubles between the Genoese and the king continued, culminating in raids by the Genoese on Cypriot coastal towns. The papacy did its best to stop the hostilities and only in 1329 did Cyprus agree to pay back the Genoese loan.¹²⁵ There is no question, however, that various papal embargoes on trading with Muslims had an effect on Cyprus. And surprisingly, it was not bad. Cyprus could trade with the Muslims while the king simply ignored what the island was up to. Whatever the pontiff's wishes, the kingdom simply did not have the ships and men to police the seas and interfere with trade.

Raymond de Piis came to Famagusta in 1310 to renew dialogue between Amaury and his brother the king,¹²⁶ The Archivio Segreto Vaticano has a copy of the report Raymond submitted in March of that year to one of the cardinals.¹²⁷

In 1311 a number of naval battles took place between assorted Cypriot vessels and ships from "Marabot" or Genoa.¹²⁸ In 1317 more battles took place between Cypriot ships and those of the "Saracens."¹²⁹

Conclusion

As Coureas explained, in the two-hundred years of Frankish rule, including the period under discussion, trade flourished although it remained agricultural.¹³⁰ Cyprus was exporting textiles such as silk and cotton, spices and salt plus various agricultural items, particularly sugar, while importing timber, iron, silver and other items from Europe.¹³¹ Cyprus was also an important place for those from the west coming to the Holy Land on crusade. It must have seemed to be a safe place to rest and recover before continuing on to the fight. The island continued to favour its Frankish newcomers over the Greek or Byzantine population. Difficulties between the two groups remained relatively rare.

The most notable event in Cypriot history prior to the late fourteenth century occurred when the French Lusignan took over the island after the Templars

¹²⁴ Ibid., 132–34.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 133.

¹²⁶ Claverie, II, 297.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 299–300.

¹²⁸ Amadi, 394–95.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 399.

¹³⁰ Coureas, 'Economy,' p. 156.

¹³¹ Coureas, 'Economy,' p. 156.

were unable to hold it. The century between this event and the Fall of Acre changed Cypriot law, society, social network, and religious institutions for centuries to come. The Fall of Acre itself added greatly to the Cypriot population although it also exacerbated agricultural scarcities and caused notable inflation.

The Fall of Acre in 1291 in the Court of Medieval Public Opinion

Charles W. Connell

It has been well over seven hundred years since the Fall of Acre in 1291 to the Muslims, and the loss of the last remaining Christian-controlled stronghold in the Holy Land,¹ but several questions still come to mind among historians about the nature of the late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century reaction to that event. In this brief study several interrelated issues are examined. First, was there really a broad-based reaction that deserves the classification of “public opinion”?² If so, did it have any impact on the prospects for yet another crusade to recover the lost Christian settlements? Third, what does the promotion of attempts to raise yet another crusade to the Holy Land tell us about the nature and process of public opinion in the later Middle Ages?

Twentieth-century historical scholarship on these issues was shaped early on by Aziz Atiya, whose work titled *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* was originally published in 1938 and first pointed out the interrelationship between the western mind and the crusading movement. As he put it, “The concrete form of the ideals of chivalry and faith, the [crusade] movement was more generally accepted and approved than had been the case with any previous manifestation of Western ideas since the fall of the Roman Empire.”³ However, the promise of Atiya’s work regarding the nature and impact of public opinion on the crusade movement was not delivered in his study. It was not really until the late twentieth century that his suggestions were examined more thor-

1 For a recent overview of the events of the siege and fall of Acre in 1291, see C. Tyerman, *God’s War. A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA, 2006), 818–22.

2 A. Luttrell, in his review of S. Schein, *Fidelis Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314* (Oxford, 1991), raised the question of the definition of public opinion when he commented: “One may wonder how influential the treatises *de recuperatione* or certain popular prophecies [major sources used by Schein] really were, and how far the remarks of Western chroniclers effectively constituted ‘public opinion.’” See *The Catholic Historical Review* 78 (1992), 285–86; here 285.

3 A.S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938; repr. with added bibliog., New York, 1965), 3.

oughly. In 1991 Sylvia Schein published her 1978 doctoral dissertation as *Fidelis Crucis* in which she argued that the news of the fall of Acre

made an impact throughout western Europe and at all levels of society ... the event was dramatic enough to cause an outcry and to stir public conscience; its initial force left its impression on all future plans and attempts to launch a crusade.⁴

Prior to Schein's work, historians had downplayed the impact. Steven Runciman was perhaps the most cynical, when he stated that "Everyone had long seen that Outremer was doomed; and no one seemed to care."⁵ From Runciman's vantage point the Council of Lyon in 1274 had achieved nothing toward reviving the crusades, and the fall of Acre had "passed almost unnoticed by the West."⁶ This was not a new idea with Runciman, as Schein pointed out in her introduction to *Fidelis Crucis*. As early as the 1820s, J.F. Michaud in his multi-volume history of the crusades, had declared a definitive end to them in 1291 with the fall of Acre.⁷ However, not all historians ignored what came after 1291. In the late nineteenth century Joseph Delaville le Roulx and Nicolae Iorga, for example, had pointed out various crusade plans and missionary treatises as evidence of ongoing interest in crusading. Reinhold Röhricht collected a large number of sources related to the crusading movement of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, but did not fully analyze them in the context of the questions being raised in this essay.⁸ In the early twentieth century Palmer Throop studied the criticism of the crusade in the late thirteenth century, but did not extend it beyond the death in 1276 of Gregory X whose attempts to raise a crusade failed largely due to public opinion being against it according to Throop's analysis.⁹ In the view of Schein, a number of studies of the crusading

4 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 1. A preview of Schein's book was provided in her article 'The Image of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Thirteenth Century,' *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 64 (1986), 704–17.

5 S. Runciman, 'The Decline of the Crusading Ideal,' *The Sewanee Review* 79 (1971), 501 [498–513].

6 Runciman, 'Decline,' 511.

7 J.F. Michaud, *Histoire des croisades*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1824–1829; repr. AMS Press, 1978).

8 J. Delaville le Roulx, *France en Orient au XIV^e siècle: Expéditions du maréchal Boucicaud* (Paris, 1886); N. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières, 1327–1405, et la croisade au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1896); Reinhold Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII–MCCXCI)*, 2 vols. (repr. New York, 1960), and other of his studies cited by Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 2, n. 4.

9 P.A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam, 1940).

movement, such as that of Setton and Housley, tend to be dismissive “of the importance of the crusade both in the mentality of contemporaries and in papal policy.”¹⁰

In concluding her overview of the modern scholarship, Schein rued the lack of serious attempts to place the attempts at crusading after 1291 into any larger framework. Thus she argued the need to begin the study of the impact of the Fall of Acre in the minds of contemporaries with 1270, a date which some historians have suggested really marked the “end of a well-defined period in the history of the crusading movement,” and to continue the study at least until 1314 to get a sense of the larger picture of the Western reaction to the Fall of Acre and its subsequent impact on attempts to raise a crusade after 1291.¹¹

Schein analyzed a wide range of sources, including a number of the *de recuperatione* treatises in an attempt to respond to those who claimed an overwhelming lack of public support for crusading in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. She reached several conclusions. Essentially, she argued that the loss of the Holy Land was “regarded by contemporaries as a tragic but only a temporary setback;” therefore, it did not require “any radical transformation in the concept of the crusade.” In her view, the loss of the Holy Land had other impacts. These included the return of France as the center of attention in crusading efforts, and the perceived dependence of those efforts on the military orders, accompanied by a change in strategy which based the concept of future efforts on the need to plan a crusade as strictly a military expedition manned by professional fighters. Finally, she argued that the so-called “Crusade of the Poor” in 1309, and the massive taking of the cross in France in 1313 were clear evidence of a “sustained and vivid interest in the fate of the Holy Land.”¹² Following the publication of *Fidelis Crucis* in 1991, many historians seemed to follow Schein’s conclusions regarding the post-1291 reaction, but none have

10 N. Housley, *The Italian Crusades: The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers, 1254–1343* (Oxford, 1982); K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant 1204–1571*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1976); Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 7.

11 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 9–10. She does cite J.N. Hilgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1971), as one exception in the lack of attempts to place the crusade into the broader changes in Europe, even though the crusading movement per se was not his main focus. J. Riley-Smith, *What were the Crusades?* (London, 1977), 50–51, and J. Richard, *Saint Louis* (Paris, 1983), 574, are cited as examples of those who focus on 1270 as a watershed year.

12 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 258–65.

really examined the question of what we mean when we discuss “public opinion” in the late Middle Ages.¹³

In the Introduction to *Fidelis Crucis* Professor Schein was rightly cautious regarding the use of the concept “public opinion.” She decided to focus on the evidence at hand “to refer to those attitudes and opinions which can be identified, rather than to public opinion in general.”¹⁴ However, her readers may have become confused when she titled her fourth chapter “The Loss of the Holy Land in Public Opinion,” especially since the evidence is presented rather vaguely in that chapter. In re-examining that material, this paper will argue that although there were strong emotional reactions recorded to the Fall of Acre, they were not always contemporary with the event itself, nor could they fairly be said to represent a broad cross-section of the publics of western Europe sufficiently well enough to be called “public opinion” as it will be defined in this study. Moreover, it will be further suggested that the evidence cited by Schein and others with respect to attempts to raise a crusade can be more accurately described as latent attitudes and beliefs, or as attempts to shape public opinion, rather than as reflections of it.¹⁵

Upon receiving the news of the Fall of Acre, Pope Nicholas IV issued his encyclical *Dirum amaritudinis calicem* dated August 13, 1291, which both announced the loss and called for revenge via a new crusade “ad recuperationem celerem dictate terrae.”¹⁶ The encyclical was widely distributed, and was followed within days by another, *Dura nimis* (August 18, 1291), which ordered that provincial councils should be held to consider how to recover the Holy Land. The latter encyclical also ordered those councils to consider the question

13 See, for example, N. Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580* (Oxford, 1992), 23, wherein he states that there was “strong yearning” in the West to “repossess Jerusalem and the Holy Land” post-1291. Also, C. Tyerman, *God’s War* (Cambridge, MA, 2006), 875, asserts that “By the fourteenth century, planners and publicists assumed popular understanding and for anti-Muslim crusades, sympathy.”

14 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 11.

15 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 112, states that, “The Loss of the Holy Land had profoundly stirred European society and it is reflected in the sheer volume of references in chronicles, treatises tinged with apologetics, and in sources dealing with other affairs.’ However, the references she cites immediately to support this point range from Marco Polo (*Il Milione*, which dates from ca. 1298), to Dante’s indictment of Boniface VIII in the *Inferno* (likely composed post-1302 while Dante was in exile from Florence), and, to the lamentation of an anonymous Italian friar written around 1300. The lack of specific chronicle citations for the “sheer volume of references in chronicles” from around 1291 is troubling as one tries to document the development of public opinion.

16 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 74, quoting Nicholas IV, *Registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. E. Langlois No.7625.

of whether to unite the Hospitallers and the Templars in order to facilitate the ongoing maintenance of the Holy Land in Christian hands after the conclusion of a successful crusade. According to Schein, “current public opinion (*vox communis*)” was in favor of such a merger, but she cites no specific evidence to support this claim.¹⁷ What is clearer from the papal registers, however, is that Nicholas did reach out personally to seek advice from both ecclesiastical and lay advisors, particularly the rulers of Europe, which resulted in the early stages of an onslaught of advice that continued after his death in 1292, and has become collectively known as the *Recuperatione terrae sanctae* treatises. It was these treatises, along with chronicle references, the calling of the provincial councils in 1291 and 1292, and other miscellaneous sources that date from a later period, such as Polo’s *Il Millione* (ca. 1298), that Schein argued provide us with evidence that “The loss of the Holy Land had profoundly stirred European society.”¹⁸

To further support this point, Schein selected three treatises to examine in detail and to use as examples of what she deemed to be representations of the opinions of various classes in European society at the time of the Fall of Acre. For ‘popular’ and lower class opinion, she used a treatise by an anonymous author with the title *De Excidio Urbis Acconis*;¹⁹ for the higher ranks, the *Hystoria de desolacione civitatis Acconensis*²⁰ of Thadeo of Naples; and for what she called the “missionary milieu,” the *Epistolae* of the Italian Dominican Ricoldo of Monte Croce (ca. 1243–1320) which were written in 1291 as he traveled in the East.²¹ In choosing these works, Schein acknowledged the traditional label of “propaganda” given to them, but she argued that by comparing them with the *De Recuperatione Terrae Sanctae*²² treatises one sees them more as

17 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 75.

18 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 112.

19 ‘De Excidio Urbis Acconis Libri II,’ in *Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Amplissima Collectio*, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand (Paris 1724–1733), v. 758. See also, V.M. Le Clerq, ‘Relation anonyme de la prise d’Acre en 1291,’ *Histoire littéraire de France* XX (1842), 79–89.

20 Thadeo of Naples, *Hystoria de desolacione civitatis Acconensis*, ed. P. Riant (Geneva, 1873).

21 For the life and influence of Ricoldo, as well as an edition of the letters, see R. Röhrich, ‘Epistolae v commentariae de perditione Acconis 1291,’ *Archives de l’Orient latin* 2 (1884), 258–63. See also, P. Mandonnet, ‘Fra Ricoldo de Monte-Croce, pèlerin en Terre Sainte et missionnaire en Orient,’ *Revue biblique* 2 (1893), 46–66, 182–202, 585–607; A. Dondaine, ‘Ricoldo de Monte Croce,’ *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 37 (1967): 119–79; and, N. Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh 1960), 126–27, 196–98, 215–45, 404–05.

22 Perhaps the best known, but not the only, of these treatises is that composed around 1306 by Pierre Dubois (ca. 1255–ca. 1321): *De Recuperatione Terre Sanctae*, ed. C-V. Langlois (Paris

explanations for the loss of the Holy Land. Given that the latter may be true, one might still ask for further clarification of the extent to which the treatises truly represent an expression of “public opinion” as opposed to propaganda that might hope to shape it.

Schein argued that the *De Excidio* enjoyed a large circulation even though the unknown authorship is based on a reading of the text's anti-upper class tone found in its laying the blame for the failure of the crusades upon the shoulders of the rich who were accused of being more interested in personal glory and luxury than the recovery of the Holy Land. Schein highlights the fact that a Picardian French version of “*De Excidio*” presents a much more “acrimonious” attack on the rich, and that Picardy played a major role in the *Pastoureaux* of 1251, as well as in the Crusades of the Poor in 1309 and 1320.²³ But, Schein also notes the similarity of this treatise with various Sibylline prophecies circulating after 1291, particularly that of the “Vision of Tripoli” in a version which was probably written between 1289 and 1291, after the Fall of Tripoli in 1289.²⁴ The “Vision” predicted the Fall of Tripoli, but also an eventual Christian victory over the Muslims. This treatise, along with the equally popular “Prophecy of Merlin,” contained criticism of the “mighty” in society, and at least one version of the latter predicted the conversion of the Saracens before the coming of the Antichrist. The “Prophecy of Merlin” had circulated in the West since the twelfth century as a “political prophecy” concerning the Last Days.²⁵ The version inserted into the *De Excidio* manuscript was based on the popular version of the “Romance of Merlin” as adopted from the *De Ortus et tempore Antichristi* (ca. 950) of Adso of Montier-en-Der. It told the story of French king who would become emperor, invade the land of the Saracens, destroy their temples, and convert those still alive. As well, the Jews would be converted, thus signaling

1891); Walther I. Brandt, ed. and trans. *The Recovery of the Holy Land by Pierre Dubois* (New York 1956). For a list of *De recuperatione* treatises composed between 1274 and 1314 see Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 269–70.

23 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 114–17. Also see, N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1961), 89–107.

24 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 68–69; 117–21. According to most versions of the ‘Vision’ it was revealed to a monk in the last days of the crusader rule of Tripoli, and thus became popular again after the loss of Acre in 1291 because, although it predicted the fall of Tripoli, it also offered the destruction of the Saracens as its final outcome. Cf. R.E. Lerner, *The Powers of Prophecy: The Cedars of Lebanon Vision from the Mongol Onslaught to the Dawn of the Enlightenment* (Berkeley CA, 1983), 42–53; and, several versions of the text of the prophecy in his Appendix II, 203–12.

25 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 119.

the fulfillment of the Antichrist prophecy.²⁶ In another manuscript of Thadeo's *De Excidio* the two Sibylline prophecies were actually annexed to the manuscript found at the Benedictine monastery of St. Jacques in Liege. From 1291 to 1312 versions of both were also found in the anonymous continuation of the chronicle of Menko, the Premonstratensian abbot of Bloemhof who died in 1276; as well as the chronicles of Eberhard, archdeacon of Regensburg (1290–1305), and Gilles of Muisit (ca. 1272–1352), abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Tournai.²⁷

If one tries to connect *De Excidio* and other treatises to the representation of public opinion in an attempt to develop support for a new crusade to the Holy Land, the fact that prophecies from these various treatises were woven together in some way, as they were apparently in *De Excidio*, must have confused the medieval 'public' about the need for a crusade in the light of eschatological anxieties. One might argue that the writing of "De Excidio" was somehow stimulated by the Fall of Acre, but its actual composition has not been precisely dated, nor is the analysis of its authorship a convincing argument that it represents either the opinion of the poor, or that the poor was its audience. Criticism of the rich by churchmen of any social rank at that time was common enough in the thirteenth century.

The dating of Thadeo of Naples' treatise, the *Hystoria* (December 1291), is clearer, even though we know very little about its author.²⁸ It provided an account of the fall of Acre that attempted to explain who was to blame. Thadeo

26 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 119. Also, see P.J. Alexander, 'Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs: The Legend of the Last Emperor,' *Medievalia et Humanistica* 2 (1961), 47–82; B.J. McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1979), 66–87; 180–85.

27 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 116–18; 68–69. See also, Menko, *Chronicon et Continuatio*, MGH SS xxiii, 567–8; Eberhard of Regensburg, *Annales*, MGH SS xvii, 605; Gilles le Muisit (Aegidius Li Muisit), *Chronica, Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae*, ed. C. De Smedt, ii (Brussels, 1841), 141. For discussion and further analysis of the value and use of these treatises, especially in a political context, see R.E. Lerner, 'Medieval Prophecy and Religious Dissent,' *Past and Present* 72 (1976), 3–24; Alexander, 'Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs: The Legend of the Last Roman Emperor' (1961); and McGinn, *Visions of the End* (1979), esp. 180–85.

28 *Thadei Neapolitani Hystoria de Desolacione et Conculcacione Civitatis Acconensis et Tocius Terre Sancte*, ed. P. Riant (Geneva, 1873). Atiya indicates that little is known of Thadeo except that he was described as 'magister civis Neapolitanus,' resided in Syria for several years, was an eyewitness to the Fall of Acre in 1291, and wrote his account of the Fall from Messina in December of that year. He speculates that he was likely born before the middle of the thirteenth century, and may have been a preaching friar, whose date of death is unknown. Atiya, *Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 31.

named all of Christendom, but since he deemed the loss of Jerusalem to be part of God's plan as described in Joachim of Fiore's apocalyptic vision, it seemed inevitable but only a temporary loss. Although Schein argued that this treatise was intended for a "different public" (higher ranks), her analysis does not provide any further connection to that audience, nor indicate how this treatise is particularly representative of the opinion of that group regarding the Fall of Acre and the need for a crusade. In fact, as she acknowledges, only three of the sixty-six pages of the treatise deal with any exhortation for recovery of the Holy Land.²⁹

The third source in this group is Ricoldo of Monte Croce (ca. 1243–1320), a Dominican in Florence, who became a major advocate for conversion of the Muslims as the proper Christian response to the loss of the Holy Land. He was in Baghdad preaching at the time of the fall of Acre in 1291, and as result of what he saw of Christian miseries in the East, his letters reveal that he believed that God had turned against him. Schein allowed that there was not much new in these treatises, since Ricoldo portrayed the fall of Acre as being due to the weakness and sins of Christians, and in much the same way as had been asserted after the failure of the Second Crusade. Yet, she continued to assert that although the fall was not unexpected, it still came as "shock" and that these three treatises represent a good cross-section of a wider range of public opinion.³⁰

In trying to illustrate the connection of the loss of Acre to the support for a new crusade, Schein next turned to the evidence of the chronicles. Here she points out that numerous examples can be found that include reference to the loss of the Holy Land, and that they often repeated the texts of the two papal encyclicals of Nicholas IV first issued in August 1291 that called for a crusade. However, Schein also notes that the chronicles presented both a positive and a negative image of Acre itself, leading the authors of the latter view often to call as much for reform in the Church as for a crusade.³¹ Thus, the tragedy of Acre was depicted as due to multiple causes, including the sins of Christians, especially those in Outremer, the behavior of the Italian merchants in Acre, the non-Holy Land interests of the papacy, corruption within the military orders charged with defense of the Holy Land, and the coming of the Apocalypse, that is, *Deus vult*.³² More and more, the chroniclers came to reflect the widespread

29 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 121.

30 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 128.

31 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 128–130.

32 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 130–31. Cf. A.J. Forey, 'The Military Orders in the Crusading Proposals of the Late-Thirteenth and Early-Fourteenth Centuries,' *Traditio* 36 (1980), 317–45; S.

criticism of the papacy for its involvement in the fate of the Sicilian kingdom at the expense of leading another crusade to recapture the Holy Land, especially after the failure of the significant efforts made by Gregory X at the time of Lyon II in 1274 to arouse enthusiasm for a new major expedition. Despite all the options for placing blame, most chroniclers seem to fall back on the traditional one of *nostris peccatis exigentibus*.³³ But what did the church councils called for by Nicholas IV have to say?

Though Schein made much of the council evidence in introducing us to ways to determine public opinion, her analysis of the councils is equivocal. Mainly, we end up knowing that there were many councils held, but “we only know about the decisions of a few of them.”³⁴ Moreover, it seems that what we do know does not reflect “shock” among churchmen who attended these councils so much as practical planning for a crusade, including such components as the need for European peace among secular rulers, the merger of the military orders, and the need for the selection of a single leader of the expedition as necessary prerequisites for a crusade to be launched. What emerges perhaps more clearly, at least from the evidence of councils in England and France, is that on several prior occasions no expeditions set out and none of the taxes collected for their support were returned, so most prelates were reluctant to endure the increased tax burden of yet another potential crusade. More politically prudent perhaps, however, they were willing to advocate that their particular king be designated the single leader of the crusade, should one ever really get launched.³⁵ Interestingly, Schein concludes this section of her study with the observation that “On the whole ... the opinions of the English prelates corresponded to those of Edward I as the opinions of the French prelates reflected the position of Philip IV.”³⁶ It is not clear how this is to be construed as “public opinion” in favor of a crusade, as opposed to other options. It seems more likely that the kings were hedging their bets, and the clergy were following along, but even that was not unanimous or enthusiastic on their part. Thus, it might be reasonably argued that the issue of a crusade was being used as leverage to try to resolve a host of other issues.

Menache, ‘Contemporary Attitudes Concerning the Templars’ Affair: Propaganda’s Fiasco,’ *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982), 135–47; H.J. Nicholson, ‘Myths and Reality: The Crusades and the Latin East as presented during the Trial of the Templars in the British Isles, 1308–1311,’ *On the Margins of Crusading*, ed. H.J. Nicholson (London, 2013), 89–100.

33 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 133.

34 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 135.

35 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 136–137.

36 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 137.

Schein ended her chapter on "The Loss of the Holy Land in Public Opinion" with this statement:

The abundance of references to the loss of the Holy Land shows that the event, though regarded as an ephemeral episode, a temporary setback, deeply stirred European society. As far as crusade-planning was concerned its effect was that of a catalyst which crystallized attitudes and solidified policies already voiced at the Second Council of Lyons ... created variations on already-existing opinions ... [but] reflected an intensification of a sentiment in favour of a crusade and the rise of eschatological expectations linked to a peaceful return to the Holy Land.³⁷

However, it can be also argued that the post-1291 reaction was not so uniform as implied. It is difficult to ignore the evidence cited by Throop to support the view that there was widespread indifference and/or cynicism about papal motives regarding crusading.³⁸ Included among what he calls as criticism "entirely unsolicited," and in existence for a long time prior to Gregory x's solicitation of opinion from his ministers, we find the vernacular poets of the south composing *sirventés*, along with at least two *minnesinger* of the north, Walther von der Vogelweide and Freidank.³⁹ The former often complained of the loss of loved ones and the neglect of the estates in France, or the damage done by the Albigensian Crusade, while the German poets' complaints focused more on the general "harm" done to the fatherland, especially by heavy taxation. Throop relied most on the evidence from the *sirventés*, which has been challenged in recent years, but critics came from all classes and from other regions as well. A lot of this criticism was keen to single out the papacy for its failure to deliver the Holy Land as promised, and for the papal attacks on the heretics in Southern France or even other Christians in Italy, which were all seen as costly expeditions that undermined the effort to recover Jerusalem. Another attack was based on the perception of papal avariciousness, especially after the diversion of the Fourth Crusade to Constantinople, from where much booty was returned to the West. English monks, such as Roger of Wendover, reveal how criticism of the attempt to renew the Albigensian Crusade in 1226 went beyond the French borders. His commentary indicates a widespread belief that those

37 Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, 138–39.

38 Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade*, 214–17, 227, 234.

39 For what follows, see Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade*, 26–50.

being attacked were not proven heretics, and that it was thus considered a sin to attack fellow Christians under the guise of a crusade.⁴⁰

The publicly expressed opposition to crusading was due to multiple reasons, including local personal and secular attachments to “nation,” and the ever-present belief that this was not something that God really wanted since the crusade efforts had been an ongoing failure. Though Throop concentrates on the evidence found in treatises constructed for Gregory X prior to his calling of the Council of Lyon in 1274, this material is so widespread across Europe that it is hard to see how this opposition would evaporate in less than twenty years. The approaches suggested for crusading post-1291 were already outworn in 1274, when various commentators, including the head of the Templars, had indicated they were doomed to failure.⁴¹ As Throop observed with respect to Humbert of Romans, the former Master General of the Dominicans and himself a preacher of crusades, who was the strongest advocate for a new crusade in 1274, his report to Gregory X on the nature of the opposition to crusading, “makes one realize to the full the difficulty of inspiring zeal for the crusade in a Christendom profoundly discouraged, skeptical, and disgusted.”⁴²

Although I am not convinced that the documents studied by Schein in evaluating the reaction to the fall of Acre in 1291 lead to her conclusion that the event “deeply stirred” European society and led to widespread public support for a crusade, I am persuaded that they do provide a case study for helping us to better understand the broader nature of the process of public opinion development in the Middle Ages.

The modern world first became fascinated with “public opinion” in the eighteenth century, and it became an obsession in the twentieth, yet we still have no commonly accepted definition of the term.⁴³ More recently, ideas conceived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by theorists such as Carl Schmitt, Jürgen Habermas, and Ferdinand Tönnies have re-emerged and have come to dominate the thinking of many. Thus, the debates swirl around issues regarding the distinction between a public versus multiple publics; whether there are several forms of public opinion (e.g. an individual opinion voiced in a public forum, or a collective will expressed as *the* Public Opinion); or whether a simple collation of answers to a survey in a poll represents public opinion. Around all of this debate there are certain commonalities which reap-

40 Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade*, 44.

41 Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade*, 230–35.

42 Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade*, 183.

43 A useful overview is provided by S. Splichal, *Public Opinion. Developments and Controversies in the Twentieth Century* (Lanham, MD., 1999), ch. 1.

pear. For example, there is the question of the role of the “people” in the political sphere.⁴⁴ Though some would argue that this is only important in democratic societies, others point out that the idea of a citizen having a voice is as old as the Greek agora or the Roman forum.⁴⁵ I would add that in medieval society, we begin to see the emergence of the collective forum in the Peace and Truce of God assemblies, or the various relic cults, of the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁴⁶ There are several spheres in which public opinion can operate, but this study is only interested in the political. I will not engage in further elaboration of that ongoing debate here, but will try to establish a working definition of public opinion upon which to examine the reaction to the fall of Acre in 1291.

For John Dewey, public opinion was simply “a judgment which is formed and entertained by those who constitute the public and is about public affairs.”⁴⁷ In the modern state, however, there are numerous publics—e.g., the “general public;” the “voting public;” the “attentive public;” or those who pay attention to politics; the “active public;” or those who are the elite of the attentive public; and the various “issue publics.” What about the Middle Ages? One might suggest somewhat simplistically that there were three – those who fought, worked, or prayed. In some ways, it would appear that the three types of treatises used by Schein in *Fideles Crucis* might represent those three. However, I would argue that even in the Middle Ages, at least by the time of the crusades, the medieval publics were more complex than that. So to measure medieval public opinion, we would need ways to sample more broadly and to reach a conclusion as to whether we find a public opinion that is defined as a consensus of opinion about controversial public issues in an attempt to influence the political actions of leaders in society. This involves a four-step process. First, defining an

44 See for example, J. Masschaele, ‘The Public Space of the Marketplace in Medieval England,’ *Speculum* 77 (2002), 383–421; C. Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca, NY, 2007); L. Melve, “Even the Very Laymen are Chattering about it: the Politicization of Public Opinion, 800–1200,” *Viator* 44 (2013), 25–48; Melve, *Inventing the Public Sphere: the Public Debate during the Investiture Contest (c. 1030–1122)* (Leiden and Boston, 2007); and C.W. Connell, *Popular Opinion in the Middle Ages: Channeling Public Ideas and Attitudes* (Berlin and Boston, 2016).

45 Splichal, *Public Opinion*, 12.

46 T. Head and R. Landes, ed., *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, 1992); C.W. Connell, ‘Origins of Medieval Public Opinion in the Peace of God Movement,’ *War and Peace: Critical Issues in European Societies and Literature, 800–1800*, ed. A. Classen and N. Margolis (Berlin and New York, 2011), 171–192.

47 Splichal, *Public Opinion*, 20, quoting from J. Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems* (orig. 1927), 177.

issue (e.g. to crusade or not); second, defining a message to communicate about the issue (opinion); third, communicating a message about the issue so as to develop a consensus regarding action to be taken; fourth, confirming a consensus that is then publicly expressed urging action upon the leaders. This definition does not assume that the "opinion" must emerge from the masses and rise upward; instead, it acknowledges that the process of communication is very important, and the process of public opinion formation is very dynamic. It also assumes that implicit in the process is the understanding by the leaders in society that broad approval (consensus) is important for action to be taken on controversial public political issues. There is a latent fear of the "voice of the people" that is a part of the dynamic, especially in medieval society, where *vox populi* was more likely to be perceived or contrived as *vox dei*. This was made more and more clear in the struggle over sovereignty between secular and ecclesiastical rulers in the crusade era.⁴⁸ Pope Urban II understood the nature of this potential when he called for the First Crusade at Clermont. He aimed his message at one public, namely the military elite, and tried to exclude others who were not trained warriors. However, he soon learned that when there is a favorable "climate of opinion" touched by an emotional call to action, the result of a widely popular enthusiastic call for action cannot be so readily controlled.

In using this model to assess the reaction to the Fall of Acre in 1291, we find several things about the process of medieval public opinion. First, we have an event that creates a controversial public issue, namely how should Christians react to the capture of the last Christian stronghold in *Outremer*. Based on the evidence presented in Schein's study we know that people were being made aware of the Fall from mid-1291, and that there was certainly much anguish about the loss, at least among certain elements of the various medieval publics, especially the ecclesiastical, as led by pope Nicholas IV. However, the evidence is not sufficient to confirm that there was widespread shock experienced among other elements. The message in the chronicles, treatises, and proceedings of even the church councils is more equivocal and does not delineate specifically the opinions of the lay sectors of society, even the secular rulers of that society. It would appear more likely that news of the event would

48 Although the study of medieval *vox dei* by Sophia Menache does not attempt any definition of public opinion or seek to explain its operation and process, it does seem to assume a concept of public opinion similar to that offered herein, and to assume its existence in the Middle Ages, as well as the need for the leadership, both secular and ecclesiastical, to pay attention to it. S. Menache, *The Vox Dei. Communication in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1990).

have been received rather matter-of-factly within a longstanding climate of opinion that would simply acknowledge yet another failure and reaffirm rhetorical support for a crusade to the Holy Land as an ideal, but not necessarily as a matter of real political action, because that would mean increased burdens for those in the West. Thus, in this case, one must distinguish between a latent climate of opinion, and the existence of widespread public opinion urging a call for real action.

Second, originally in the form of two papal encyclicals, there was a message created in an attempt to influence public opinion, at least that of the more elite publics, with inferred support from the masses who must pay the tithes needed to finance an expedition. In this case, however, the message did not remain consistent, as it became modified by the actions of church councils, and/or the advice offered over time to the papacy through numerous *Recuperatione terrae sanctae* treatises. There was no consistent message developing that could be said to represent “the Public Opinion,” or not even a clear message to influence the development of a more common public opinion in support of the calling for crusade at a specific time as in the case of the First Crusade where a common message was being preached by the pope himself among others. In this later case, there were common elements in the various proposals for a crusade, such as merger of the military orders, selection of a single leader of the expedition, and the creation of a European peace among its secular rulers, but these were pre-conditions to a crusade, and were not public proposals debated in the open. Some have suggested that because they were so complex and “conditional,” the proposals operated as propaganda and in fact constituted assurances that a real crusade would not take place. Moreover, there were other alternatives to a violent revenge put forward simultaneously, with missionary conversion of the Saracens in the context of the Apocalyptic vision being foremost.⁴⁹

Third, we have to examine how the message was being delivered to the various publics. Typically, upon the issuance of a crusade papal encyclical, various preachers were authorized to spread the word, and by the thirteenth century this mission had been essentially delegated to the friars. The study of the pub-

49 The ongoing frustration resulting from the many alternatives to a crusade to the Holy Land, and the failure to move beyond the collection of the tithes, led to a deepening cynicism in the early fourteenth century, as represented by the anonymous chronicler who commented that: ‘The Pope had the money and Marquis his nephew had part of it, and the King [of France] and the others who had taken the cross did not set out, and the Saracens are still there in peace, and I think they may sleep on undisturbed’ (Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 30).

lic opinion process points out the importance of the credibility of both the message and the messenger in determining its effectiveness in shaping public opinion. Modern historical studies have pointed out the controversial nature of the interpretation of criticism of crusade efforts in the thirteenth century. Throop concluded in 1940 that there was widespread anti-crusade sentiment, that there were many obstacles to raising a crusade in the thirteenth century, and that "Public opinion was not aroused."⁵⁰ On the other hand, Schein and Elizabeth Siberry, though acknowledging the existence of opposition, still maintain there was really not any "significant decline in popular enthusiasm" for a crusade.⁵¹ Studies of the earlier crusades, and of effective preaching in general, often point out that the personality of the preacher, along with rhetorical skills, and the ability to tap into the "climate of opinion" was the key to effectiveness.⁵² In the case of the First Crusade, for example, Pope Urban II personally preached to his peers with a passionate and skillfully-crafted message. In preparing for the Second, Bernard of Clairvaux, long known as a very credible and persuasive messenger, preached widely and reportedly to large crowds. The rapidity of the positive response to the preaching and actual launching of those two crusades is arguably a good measure of public opinion, or at least of the successful process to influence it. There are no such reports in response to crusade preaching post-1291.

Perhaps the lack of an enthusiastic response is due to the fact that by the third quarter of the thirteenth century the crusade message had become much less personal and more bureaucratically shaped through preaching manuals for large numbers of friars to deliver.⁵³ Humbert of Romans (1200–1277) noted the problem that these messages were not as effective, when he compiled his responses to Pope Gregory X's call for the Council of Lyons in 1274. Humbert was a keen observer of contemporary society, and as Master General of the Dominicans, had ready access to news and points of view from across Europe. Thus, in the medieval world he functioned as both a representative of public

50 Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade*, 285.

51 The quote is from E. Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095–1274* (Oxford, 1985), 220.

52 P.J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), 62–79.

53 For the construction of model sermons and their texts, see C.T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, 2006), 17–50. Regarding the impact of dehumanization, see L. Ramey, 'Monstrous Alterity in Early Modern Travel Accounts: Lessons from the Ambiguous Medieval Discourse on Humanness,' *L'Esprit Créateur* 48 (2008), 81–95; C.W. Connell, 'Issues of Humanity in the Rhetoric of Crusade Preaching,' *The Book of Nature and Humanity in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Richard Newhauser and David Hawkes (Turnhout, 2013), 241–64.

opinion and an opinion leader. His *Opus Tripartitum* took note, for example, of reasons why people were opposed to the crusade, while his treatise *De praedicatione crucis* took great pains to suggest how preachers might overcome the opposition.⁵⁴ Although the content of his message was not particularly new, the extent to which Humbert saw the need for elaborate preparations just to preach the crusade, suggests the degree to which he regarded the opposition to a new crusade to be widespread.

This brings us to part four of the public opinion process, i.e., actions taken in response to a reading of public opinion. How do we measure the effectiveness of attempts to influence public political action? To imagine, especially with the failure to launch a crusade twenty years earlier at a more favorable time politically, that public opinion in opposition to crusading would have greatly diminished by 1291 seems unlikely. This seems especially true with the Fall of Acre, which would likely be largely interpreted as further verification of the cynics' point of view about the lack of even God's support for the crusade effort. So again, as in 1274, efforts to win broad support would have to be launched in face of overwhelming odds against their success. To bring this into perspective, in 1096 and again in 1144–46, the response to crusade preaching by Urban II and Bernard was the mounting of an expedition which actually went to the Holy Land. The efforts of Edward I in 1270 were not the result of a general outcry of enthusiasm for crusading so much as his idiosyncratic fulfillment of a personal quest; and, in 1291, or thereafter, a true crusade (*passagium generale*) did not happen. Part four of the public opinion process in this case failed to take place in the sense that there were no observed reports of the activities such as those which led to the so-called Peasants Crusade in 1096, nor indications of other 'publics' demanding an expedition to recover the Holy Land. As early as 1291, there were numerous *de recuperatione* treatises by individuals, but they were neither addressed to a broad public, nor did they claim to represent a base of public support. The process of connecting latent public support to charismatic leadership with a good plan and financial support for a crusade did not occur. Thus, an important part of the public opinion process to support political action was not completed, and it is likely in this case that true public opinion in support of such an effort did not really exist.

There was an ongoing attempt to make such a linkage of perceived or constructed enthusiasm for a crusade to the Holy Land with a committed leadership with the ability to raise a crusade army and provide financial support in

54 Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade*, 184–213. Cf. also, E.T. Brett, *Humbert of Romans. His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society* (Toronto 1984); and Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 202–217.

the later years of the reign of Philip IV of France (r. 1285–1314) and the papacy of Clement V (r. 1305–1314).⁵⁵ Despite the need to continue ongoing expeditions in defense of Frankish Greece or the enforcement of the economic blockade of Egypt which drained papal resources, the goal of launching a major crusade to recover the Holy Land remained firmly in Clement's mind. Moreover, this goal connected him directly to Philip, whose brother Charles of Valois was the leader of the effort to recover the Frankish Empire of the Byzantine world lost in 1268, which Clement saw as an important step in the ultimate recovery of the Holy Land. This meant enabling crusade vows to be taken and funds collected, but ultimately there was no action by the French "enthusiasts." Charles was not able to launch an expedition, and the blame was placed largely on the shoulders of Philip who withdrew his support for the campaign. Even as early as 1306 the king had gained dispensation from fulfilling his own crusade vow for the *passagium generale* "should it threaten the safety of France, a *carte blanche* for inaction on the slenderest of excuses."⁵⁶ Then from 1307 on, both the French and the papal courts were caught up in the trial of the Templars, and this enabled Philip to put off any actual preparations for a crusade until 1312, two years before the deaths of both Philip and Clement.

Another effort, a more limited *passagium particulare* by Clement, was more successful in 1309–1310, but this was a Hospitaller project to complete the conquest of Rhodes, and not one coming from or originating in the French court. Perhaps as a result of some crusade preaching efforts in the north, in the modern analysis of Christopher Tyerman, reportedly "large numbers from England, the Low Countries and Germany took the cross and converged on Mediterranean ports," but the effort ultimately failed for lack of funds and elite leadership. The range of potential participants did represent a cross-section of society, but even the chroniclers who took note were hostile toward what they regarded as an "unauthorized, underfunded and undisciplined" band of recruits.⁵⁷ Once again, although the latent and passive nature of public opinion in support of crusading was demonstrated, a wholesale outcry of "*the medieval public opinion*" did not occur.

So what *do* these chronicles, councils, and *De recuperatione* treatises represent? First, I would argue they present a long-standing and ongoing expression of a European climate of opinion in favor of a crusade to the Holy Land, but

55 For more recent views on the history of the later crusades, see Housley, *The Later Crusades* (1992), and Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 825–916.

56 N. Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305–1378* (Oxford, 1986), 13–14.

57 Tyerman, *God's War*, 879–80.

that this expression of the general will as discussed by Ferdinand Tönnies⁵⁸ had become a latent ideal more than an expression of true public opinion in favor of action. In his article about the political discourse in the thirteenth century Björn Weiler offers the view that the papal Curia had transformed the crusade idea into a much broader theoretical realm of conflict resolution, thus removing it a step further from the more personal level of experience by 'the people.' The preaching of crusades over the century had imbued the ideal into the hearts of many listeners in many publics. This preaching created a public sphere for the formation of public opinion as it were,⁵⁹ but the redemption of crusade vows for money, the failure to launch expeditions for which tithes had long been collected, or the directing of crusades against papal enemies in Europe all served to further inure the populace from real support for the crusades to the Holy Land. The evidence cited by Schein, when examined more in that light, reflects the hard gloss of cynicism about the reality of crusading. In Weiler's words, the "crusade" as ideal had become an all too "familiar feature of the political, social, economic, and religious fabric of Europe."⁶⁰ Yes, widely held expressions of sorrow over the loss of Acre as a symbol of ongoing defeat of the Christian cause in the Holy Land, and optimistically, as a sign of the coming of the Antichrist, were a part of that familiarity by 1291. And yes, the ideal of crusading was still there; that is, crusading was a part of the climate of opinion, but the idea of going on an actual crusade, was not "*the* public opinion" in 1291. If it had been, it is more likely that a crusade would have taken place sooner or later thereafter. In conclusion, though the reaction to the Fall of Acre in 1291 may not be an example of a public opinion that truly reflected widespread shock and seriously urged a crusade in return, it does offer a good example, among several that begin with developments first noted in studies of the Peace and Truce of God movements, of how the political public opinion process operated in the medieval world.

58 Splichal, *Public Opinion*, 196–99.

59 For discussion of the public sphere concept, see J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. by Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA, 1989; Ger. orig., 1962); Splichal, *Public Opinion*, 5, 11, 13–14, 22–26, and *passim* regarding other uses of the concept and the reaction to Habermas. Also, see C. Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, MA, 1992), for a sense of the scholarly reaction to the English translation publication of Habermas in 1989.

60 B. Weiler, 'The *Negotium Terrae Sanctae* in the Political Discourse of Latin Christendom, 1215–1311,' *The International History Review* 25 (2003), 3 [1–36].

Thadeus of Naples on the Fall of Acre

Iris Shagrir

For Robert B.C. Huygens

Magister Thadeus' *Ystoria de Desolatione et Conculcatione Civitatis Aconensis et Tocius Terre Sancte*¹ is a detailed contemporary account of Acre's last days in the spring of 1291, a general complaint about the loss of the Holy land, and an attempt to resuscitate Christian enthusiasm for a crusade. The treatise contains about 1600 lines written in a highly rhetorical style. As a whole, it has not received much attention in modern scholarship, although information has been mined from the treatise on specific points of interest and factual content.

Most often, the text was situated in the context of post-1291 crusade propaganda. In 1975 Aziz S. Atiya addressed Thadeus' treatise when discussing the propaganda campaign initiated by the papal curia in the aftermath of 1291. Atiya ascribed to Thadeus a central and somewhat exaggerated role in this context: "That propaganda was inaugurated by an eyewitness of the fighting which had taken place within Acre in 1291, one Thadeus of Naples. He wrote a tract of considerable interest under the title of *Hystoria de desolacione ... tocius Terre Sancte* shortly after he had been forced out of Acre with the rest of its Christian inhabitants."²

Thadeus, of whom we know almost nothing, was probably not an eyewitness of the events he described. But his account was written in December 1291 in Messina, Sicily, and is very clearly based on the reports of reliable eyewit-

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- 1 Magister Thadeus Civis Neapolitanus, *Ystoria de Desolatione et Conculcatione Civitatis Aconensis et Tocius Terre Sancte*, in *Excidii Aconis gestorum collectio; Ystoria de desolatione et conculcatione civitatis Aconensis et tocius terre sancte*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM 202 (Turnhout, 2004), 99–164. The first modern edition is *Magistri Thadei Neapolitani, Hystoria de Desolacione et Conculcacione Civitatis Aconensis et Tocius Terre Sancte in A.D. D.M.CC.XCI*, ed. C.P. Riant (Geneva, 1873).
- 2 A.S. Atiya, 'The Crusade in the Fourteenth Century,' in H.W. Hazard (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3: *The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, (Wisconsin, 1975), 6 [2–26]. Cf. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (New York, 1965), 31–34.

nesses. But its historical focus is only one aspect of its value. Despite its title, *Ystoria*, the work was evidently not meant to be a simple historical narrative but rather a literary, homiletic piece on a recent event. Nor can it be regarded as a typical propaganda text. It is a lengthy, somewhat disorganized, and often “indigestible mass”³ of unintelligible Latin, with some endless sentences, spanning a few pages.

The text was read and copied several times in the later Middle Ages. As a major disaster suffered by the Christians, the story of Acre’s fall certainly did not lack avid listeners.⁴ Its appeal must have been reinforced by the fact that the author knew Acre and the Latin East from personal experience. The rubrics, or chapter headings, not originally part of the text but added later in the 14th century,⁵ undoubtedly made the text more accessible for personal reading and more versatile for reading in public. The rubrics refer to the author, Thadeus, in the third person, e.g. *Contendit auctor cum Terra Sancta, impropereando ei*; they may contain ‘instructions’ such as *lege inferius* (‘read below’).⁶ This provides additional evidence of external intervention in the text. The insertion of rubrics may partly uncover its reception: they make the text more manageable, easily divided into sections, and thus more accessible outside the preserve of the educated readership; the rubrics may suggest that the text was read aloud and that Thadeus was a person familiar to the audience. Furthermore, all extant manuscripts were copied in the 14th and early 15th century, when the crusade was still being actively promoted. Of the six manuscripts of the *Ystoria* examined by Robert Huygens for his edition, three originate in France and

3 Huygens, Introduction 6.

4 The opening paragraph emphasizes the freshness of the events by using the words *nuper* and *nuperius*. Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 99–100, lines 3, 28.

5 The externality of the rubrics is illustrated by Huygens with the example of the chapter *De Pisani et Venetis qualiter se habuerunt* (122): the title mentions the Pisans and Venetians while the paragraph speaks of the communes in general; the omission of the Genoese from the title may suggest that a Genoese added the rubrics. See Huygens, Introduction, 13, 31–2. A better illustration of externality of the rubrics is, I think, that they sometimes obstruct the sequence of narration, e.g. the rubric *De proicientibus se in mare, necatis in eo*, which should have been inserted a few lines earlier; Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 107, line 194. Another example of how the rubrics obstruct the flow of the text is in the long sequence of questions posed by the author to the Holy Land in the chapter *Interrogacionem facit terre sancte cum admiratione* (155), which originally seems to have gone on uninterrupted for 37 lines, but the rubric *Similem interrogacionem* (156) was inserted in mid-sequence for no apparent reason other than to allow for a pause.

6 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 134, lines 899–900, 157, line 1438.

three in Spain,⁷ indicating a rather wide range of distribution. This necessarily means that it served a specific purpose, and perhaps a plurality of modes of engagement with it. It might have been exactly its emotional and personal tone that complemented other exhortatory texts circulating in this period and concentrated on practical advice for the recovery of the Holy Land. Thadeus' text could have been invoked particularly for rekindling memories and feelings of shame for non-Christian and non-knightly behaviour, humiliation, compassion, hostility and vengeance.

The main value of Thadeus' *Ystoria*, then, lies not in factual details on the fall of Acre, for which we have more straightforward accounts.⁸ It is a less matter-of-fact account of the events than that of the Templar of Tyre, though there is some relationship between the two;⁹ and it is more sophisticated than the anonymous *Excidium Aconis*, which is very detailed but much less emotional and personal than Thadeus' *Ystoria*.¹⁰

The *Ystoria* shows how the disaster was interpreted by a learned contemporary, who seems to have been neither a politician, merchant, knight, nor a well-known member of the clerical elite. Despite his anonymity in the eyes of modern scholarship, there is no doubt that his message was considered relevant in the 14th–15th centuries. In referring to crusade treatises written in the later Middle Ages, Norman Housley has commented that their number and wide range of distribution allows one to infer that they reflected far more than the views of isolated individuals.¹¹ Thadeus' treatise shows that religious attitudes were ascribed major importance in the contemporary thinking about the crusades. Moreover, as the earliest full-length account of the city's fall, which was copied several times in the 150 years following its production, it must have played a role in constructing the collective memory of better days in Acre, and in shaping the imagery with which the traumatic events were remembered.

7 Huygens, Introduction, 25–27. One of the French manuscripts was purchased in 1362 in Avignon.

8 The only chronicle based on an eyewitness account is that attributed to the Templar of Tyre, which was written in the beginning of the 14th century. For details see the introduction by P. Crawford, *The 'Templar of Tyre': Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, ed. P. Crawford (Aldershot, 2003).

9 See for example the description of the miserable women in Crawford, 'Templar of Tyre,' 113–114; and Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 105–106, lines 161–175. This topic will be discussed further below.

10 Huygens, Introduction, 13.

11 N. Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford, 1992), 387.

The Author

Apart from his name, Thadeus is practically unknown. He introduces himself as *Magister Thadeus civis Neapolitanus*, which means he was a citizen of Naples by origin but not necessarily a resident of that city. He wrote his tract in the second half of 1291 and signed it in Messina in December of that year. If he left Acre shortly before its fall, Messina would have been a natural point of disembarkation on the way back to southern Italy or even to Naples. Due to its active traffic of crusaders and pilgrims, Messina was also a likely place for hearing fresh eyewitness testimonies from the Latin East. Several documents dating from shortly before the fall of Acre testify to the lively commercial exchange between Messina and Acre, and to a fairly large presence of patricians and burgesses from Messina in late thirteenth-century Acre, who had wide-ranging commercial and business involvement in the Levant and in Acre as its most important port.¹²

Likewise written in Messina at about the same time was the brief but detailed account of Arsenius, a Greek monk from Acre, whose report is included in the *History of Sicily* by Bartholomaeo de Neocastro. Arsenius' account shares several common themes with the more multifaceted story of Thadeus.¹³

The title *magister* placed before the proper name may indicate a person of some authority and may be associated with any number of professions.¹⁴ Paul Riant, who edited the work for the first time in 1873, proposed that the author was a cleric or a Dominican friar.¹⁵ This suggestion is based on the large number of scriptural quotations, but cannot be verified in any other way.

Thadeus' description of Acre conveys a sense of familiarity with the problems of the Latin East and a personal attachment to it. He had spent some time in the Levant, but it is not known where or when, nor how long or for what purpose, though it may have been not long before the final fall of the Latin states. He mentions his stay in a paragraph that may refer to an event known to have occurred in 1289.¹⁶

12 B. Figliuolo, 'Pergamene messinesi due-trecentesche relative all'Oriente latino,' *Crusades* 13 (2014), 211–235; David Abulafia, 'The Merchants of Messina: Levant Trade and Domestic Economy,' *Papers of the British School at Rome* 54 (1986), 196–212.

13 *Historia Sicula*, ed. G. Paladino (Bologna, 1922). On the shared themes see below.

14 See Du Cange et al., *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis* (Paris, 1883–1887): *Magister: Titulus honorarius, quo donantur viri ab honoratoribus secundi*.

15 Riant, x-xi.

16 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 134, lines 891–896. The incident may be connected with Qalāwūn's closing of the port of Alexandria to the Genoese, following Benedict Zaccaria's attack on a Muslim merchant vessel in 1289, and the Genoese attempt to make peace with the Sultan

Thadeus was undoubtedly a very learned man. His mastery of Latin has been noted by Riant and Huygens, who both saw it as a mixed blessing. Thadeus uses rare words and pretentious syntactic constructions – which can be very eloquent (e.g. *ut lugendo describam et describendo lugeam*)¹⁷ but at times are so complex as to create confusion. He has a special fondness for long sentences consisting of dozens of lines, and long series of ablative absolutes in lieu of verbs. Huygens has commented that the text must have been as painstaking to compose as it is to read and, it should be noted, was completed in a few months.¹⁸ Thadeus employs many rhetorical strategies such as repetition, tautology, amplification, second-person address, nostalgic reminiscence in the form of the *ubi sunt* literary motif,¹⁹ and dialectic questions and answers – all for the purpose of enhancing emphasis, pathos and emotional effect.

The frequent quotations from the Scriptures and Christian authorities call to mind the literary concept of *cento*, when some paragraphs of the text are almost wholly composed of verses or of passages quoted from other texts. For example, the thirteen lines of the paragraph *De compassione et planctu terre sancte ac regni Ierosolimitani* contain at least eight direct quotations or close paraphrases of verses from the books of Numbers, Maccabees, Jeremiah, Deuteronomy, Amos, Nahum and Job.²⁰ The biblical verses have an important role in the *Ystoria*. Not only do they lend dignity and authority to the narrative; they also refer quite clearly to the biblical account of the conquest of Jerusalem by another “Babylonian,” King Nebuchadnezzar II (2 Kings 25.1–21; Jeremiah 39.1–9), as equally hateful as the contemporary “Babylonian,” the sultan of Egypt.

Also quoted throughout the work are ancient authors such as Orosius and Boethius and more recent ones such as Joachim of Fiore. There is a surprisingly small number of quotations from monastic authorities – for example, only two quotations from Augustine and one from Gregory the Great.

Notably, outside of the Bible, the most frequently quoted author is Joachim of Fiore. This raises the possibility of influence on Thadeus by Joachite currents prevalent in 13th century Naples. Several ideas characterizing these currents can be found in Thadeus’ text, among them the *Imitatio Christi*, the prophetic tone and the contempt for earthly wealth. But since these are also

in order to cut their losses. On the incident see P.M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy, 1260–1290: Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers* (Leiden, 1995), 29.

¹⁷ Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 99, lines 5–6.

¹⁸ Huygens, Introduction, 12.

¹⁹ Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 155, lines 1395–1398; *Ubi sunt qui annuatim ad te [...] veniebant?*

²⁰ Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 155, lines 1386–1398.

general spiritual virtues, the linkage deserves further consideration.²¹ However, if Thadeus did indeed come originally from Naples, he might have been connected with the learned circle of scholars who gathered around the Angevine court and at least at some point have had access to its rich library.²²

The profile thus created is of a man extremely well trained in Latin writing and rhetoric; well versed both in the Scriptures and in Christian authorities, which he quotes both literally and in paraphrase; a man, moreover, familiar with Joachimite writings and ideas, who travelled in the Latin East and familiarized himself with its perils through observation and conversation.²³ As we shall see, he is sensitive to the misery of the weak and unprotected, and unforgiving of military weakness.²⁴ He is scornful of the Italian merchants and Italian communes in general, and contemptuous of earthly gain. The Christian world he addresses is the “mystical body of the militant church,” yet he does not engage in the practical military details of a new crusade.²⁵

The Structure of the *Ystoria*

At first glance, Thadeus' text appears disorganized. Paul Riant noted the work's non-chronological order and described it as having no fixed system of narration, with diverse episodes amplified sporadically and unsystematically.²⁶ It has been suggested that Thadeus often got carried away by his overblown rhetoric, and that some episodes seem to be out of place.²⁷ In addition to the fact, noted above, that the rubrics (chapter headings) are not an original feature of the text, it is therefore a challenge to make sense of the work's general structure.

A close reading reveals that the *Ystoria* consists of four clearly identifiable parts: [1] an exclamatory prologue directed at all the Christians (lines 1–46); [2]

21 See in this context R. Musto, 'Franciscan Joachimism at the Court of Naples, 1309–1345: A New Appraisal,' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 90 (1997), 419–486.

22 C.C. Coulter, 'The Library of the Angevine Kings at Naples,' *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 74 (1944), 141–155.

23 A conversation with merchants is reported in Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 126, lines 700–701, and 134, lines 891–898.

24 Except when he excuses King Henry II of Jerusalem and Cyprus for his escape from Acre due to ill health; Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 122, lines 586–592.

25 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 163, line 1585.

26 Riant, Preface, xiii.

27 S. Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314* (Oxford, 1991), 121.

chapters containing information on the siege, the battles, the victims, the heroes and villains, and the final defeat (lines 47–772); [3] chapters containing lament, explanation, prophetic interpretation, reproach and compassion (lines 773–1527); [4] conclusion and exhortation directed to God, the Pope and the Christian kings to save the Holy Land (lines 1528–1610).

The opening sentence: *Quis amaritudinis aquam meo influet capiti, diris nuper aggravato doloribus, quis lacrimarum imbrem meis ad fletum resolutis oculis ministrabit* (“Who will pour bitter water onto my head, which lately grieves with awful pains; who will help the pouring rain of tears from my weeping open eyes...?”) sets a prophetic tone to the work by paralleling two verses from the Jeremiah 9: “O that my head were a spring of water, and my eyes a fountain of tears, so that I might weep day and night for the slain of my poor people!... Therefore, thus says the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: I am feeding this people with wormwood, and giving them poisonous water to drink.”²⁸ The prophetic tone set by the opening of the *Ystoria* is an important quality of the whole work, as the scriptural quotations show: the overwhelming majority of quotations come from Jeremiah and Isaiah,²⁹ whose books are known for the particular intensity of their prophetic-apocalyptic tone, especially in the context of the destruction of cities.³⁰ Moreover, the prophets Jeremiah and Isaiah are figures that merge exegetically with that of Christ, as all three figures were

28 Jer. 9:1 *quis dabit capiti meo aquam et oculis meis fontem lacrimarum et plorabo die et nocte interfectos filiae populi mei*; and 9:15 *idcirco haec dicit Dominus exercituum Deus Israhel ecce ego cibabo eos populum istum absinthio et potum dabo eis aquam fellis*. The specific choice of words by Thadeus may also refer to Pope Nicolas IV's Bull of August 1291 *Dirum amaritudinis calicem*, the first Papal Bull after the fall of Acre, which acknowledged the disaster and aimed to stir the Christian world into action. Remarkably, a similar sentence opens Peter of Blois' treatise *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*, written in 1189 in the aftermath of the disaster in Hattin, and lamenting the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187: *quis dabit capiti meo aquam et oculis meis fontem lacrymarum et plorabo interfectos populi mei...*, see: *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*, in *Petri Blesensis, Tractatus duo*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM 194 (Turnhout, 2002), 75–95.

29 See R. Huygens' index of quotations.

30 The 'city' is a potent theme in the prophetic discourse in the Old Testament whose prophesized fate wavers between destruction and glory. In describing a city's path toward destruction, prophesies relate the stages of its downfall and tie its gradual disintegration with that of its inhabitants. The doomed city is often personified as a sinner, and the prophetic imagery may dwell on its physical and moral decay. While many prophesies speak of physical destruction, a truly devastated city is an abandoned one, and its fate, usually justified, symbolizes the judgment of an entire land and people. See Robert P. Carroll, 'City of Chaos, City of Stone, City of Flesh: Urbanscapes in Prophetic Discourses,' in *Every City shall be Forsaken: Urbanism and Prophecy in Ancient Israel and the Near East* ed.

doomed to suffer by their tormenters.³¹ Their embedded presence in his narrative allows Thadeus to link bodily pain with the destruction of the whole city.

The fourth, concluding part of the *Ystoria*, which may be considered direct propaganda for a crusade, is rather limited (82 lines), but it might have been found more useful than the other sections in a propagandist context.

Thus the main body of the text consists of two principal parts of almost equal length, just over 700 lines each (lines 47–772 and 773–1527). These two parts contain, respectively, information and contemplation. The first provides information on the siege, the tactics of the Muslims, the battles in the streets, the chaotic attempts at escape, and those who took shelter in the Templar fortress. Chronologically, this part covers the days from the arrival of Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil in Acre on 5 April 1291, to 18 May; the reference to those holding out in the Templar fortress may extend this time span to 28 May.³² There is also a curious reference to the sultan's plan "in the month of May" to conquer the island of Cyprus, a threat al-Ashraf Khalil voiced in response to the Christian attack on Alexandria in the spring of 1292.³³

The second main part consists of lamentation, reproach, explanation and justification. It is a well-articulated expression of the major trends in the Latin reaction to the fall of Acre: great shock and surprise at the humiliating scope of the disaster and self-accusation in the common form of *peccatis exigentibus*, naming culprits – first and foremost the Templars and the Hospitallers, but also the Christians of the Holy Land and Christians in general. Thadeus also contemplates divine justice, which he does not question. These points are mostly ordinary and accord with the general religious inspiration of the text. The interpretation of the events is congruent with the general prophetic and apocalyptic tone, expressed forcefully in both the text and the intertextuality with biblical verses.

This section is written partly in dialogue form, with either a question or a reproach directed at the Holy Land followed by an 'answer' or justification.

Lester L. Grabbe and Robert D. Haak (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 45–61, esp. 51, 59.

31 Cf. Isaiah 3:9; Jeremiah 38:6.

32 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 109: *De fugientibus ad domum Templi*. Thadeus specifies only two dates: April 5 and counts 44 days up to and including the breach of the walls of Acre, May 18.

33 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 139, line 1019. Cf. the later '*Templar of Tyre*,' ed. Crawford, 122; and the report by Marino Sanudo, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, tr. and ed. P. Lock (Aldershot, 2011), 371, where the sultan is reported to have shouted angrily, "To Cyprus, to Cyprus, to Cyprus," with the intention of wiping out the remaining Christians there. See more generally, P.W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1091–1374* (Cambridge, 1993), 102.

This is not exactly the standard scholastic style of question and answer, but it provides a relief from the dirge-like continuous narration. Moreover, it could have helped the author in addressing problematic issues that might have been voiced in criticism against the Latin Kingdom and its inhabitants. For example, in the chapter entitled *Interrogacionem facit terre sancte cum admiratione*, he asks how it is possible that a land privileged with such sacred history and noted as the scene of the triumph over death is now utterly humiliated by the Saracen “dogs,” as if reduced from the status of a chosen wife to that of an adulterous woman. He asks: Is the Holy Land perhaps no longer the noblest part of the earth? Several other questions are raised: If that land is so holy, how is it allowed to be desecrated by impure peoples? How is it possible for the lawful inheritance of the Christians to be allowed to slip into the hands of the unbelievers? These questions may echo popular scruples about the providential favour of the crusading project and disenchantment with the vision of Latin-Christian domination in the East. At the same time, these questions appeal to the notion of a people displaced from its inherited place. It is in this dialogue section that we find some of the more powerful expressions of the estrangement between God, the Holy Land and the Christians. In Thadeus’ metaphor, the Holy Land is a “mother” who abandoned her children (*cum iam mater esse desieris*).³⁴ It is depicted as rejecting the Christians and driving them out (*a te quasi reprobos eicis Christianos*).³⁵ And it would probably turn away, like a step-mother, from those who may come to its rescue in the future (*Timendum est enim ne, si ipsi ad te succurrendam convertantur et veniant, tu forsitan ab eis ut noverca ... avertaris*).³⁶ In response, Thadeus excoriates the ungrateful Christian inhabitants of the Holy Land. The faithful Christians (*Christicola*) ought not to be surprised nor have their enthusiasm chilled in face of the destruction, since the fault lies with those who abused the sanctity and fertility of the land, who are irrevocably false Christians (*utpote qui per dampnabilis vite semitas irrevocabiliter ambulabant*).³⁷ To this, he says, true Christians must not remain indifferent.

34 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 157, line 1447.

35 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 157, lines 1440–1441.

36 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 157, lines 1445–1448.

37 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 158, lines 1466–1467.

The Victims

In his account of the events Thadeus makes significant choices in ordering the narration of the fate of the victims. The poorest, weakest and most vulnerable are discussed first. After them, some of the main leaders in the battle of Acre are singled out for admiration or disapproval. Thus, immediately following the introductory description of the great forces assembled by the Mamluks and the apocalyptical intensity of their first attack, the author dwells at length on the miseries of the population of the city. He starts with the fate of the women and children. The detailed account of the rape of young women, pregnant women and young mothers bears witness to the atrocious reality of war for women, which rarely receives such attention from medieval authors. The vivid depiction of the chaos contains motifs of long-lasting resonance, such as the images of breast-feeding mothers whose children are violently torn away from them,³⁸ crying children wandering in the streets where they used to play in search of their lost parents.³⁹ These motifs are echoed in the later account of the Templar of Tyre,⁴⁰ and seem to surface again in the threnody on the fall on Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453.⁴¹ For greater unsettling effect, the women are discussed in distinct groups and addressed in the second person (*Veh vobis lactantibus ... veh vobis pregnantibus*).⁴² The dishonoured virgins, the young mothers, the pregnant women aborting their babies – all symbolize the demise of a once lively city; without the women and children, the city has no future. The narrative places heavy emphasis on the fact that the poor were completely left to their fate. Some of these themes echo, conceivably by coincidence, an Arab-Christian poem describing of the Mamluk conquest of Frankish Tripoli two years earlier, under Sultan Qalāwūn, on 26 April 1289. The poem was written by Sulaymān al-Ashlūḥī, a little-known, probably Melkite Christian who was an eyewitness to the events. He likewise tells of the consuming pain and sorrow in face of the horrifying sights of dead knights, parents

38 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 105–106, lines 161–175.

39 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 106, lines 178–193.

40 Crawford, 'Templar of Tyre,' 113: "Know that the day was terrible to behold. The ladies and the burgesses and the cloistered maidens and other lesser folk came fleeing through the streets, their children in their arms, weeping and despairing, and fleeing to the sailors to save them from death."

41 See the interesting comparison between the Templar of Tyre and E. Georgillas' poem *Thrēnos tēs Kōnstantinoupoleōs*; C. Aslanov, 'Eyewitness vs. Mediated Narratives of Lost Cities at the End of the Middle Ages: Acre, Constantinople, Granada,' *Partial Answers: Journal of Literature and the History of Ideas* 7 (2009), 169–187.

42 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 105, lines 162–163, 106, lines 170–171.

weeping over their slaughtered children, children crying while being massacred before their mothers' eyes, young girls who are now dead, and in general the sights and sounds of a once vivacious city, now in ruins and desolation.⁴³

Following the women and children come those miserable unarmed people caught in the death-trap between the enemy and the sea. The author agonises over the loss of charity and solidarity: fathers forgot their sons, husbands their wives; brothers abandoned each other, women forgot their femininity, each was looking to his own rescue: *unusquisque de propria tantum salute sollicitus*.⁴⁴ Information on the abandonment of the poor is not unique to the *Ystoria*. Fleeing from Acre was possible for the affluent minority, those who could plan in advance, who owned ships or could pay the sums required for travel overseas. Arsenius, a Greek monk who fled from Acre and could have been one of Thadeus' sources, provides similar information. Nobody was willing to fight for the poor, who incidentally were the majority of the city's population.⁴⁵ But one should note Thadeus' special sensitivity to the fate of the defenceless and the poetic intensity of his description of the human calamity, which resonated in future writing on Christian disasters.⁴⁶

Martyrdom and Imitation of Christ

Treating the victims as distinct groups rather than as a wholesale crowd is an effective use of literary amplification: By dividing and particularizing the victims, the author employs a rich set of words and phrases, and thus conjures up for his audience an expanded sense of reality. It also enables him to dwell in greater detail on the meritorious death of some individuals and groups. Some

43 R. Jabre-Mouawad, 'Un témoin melkite de la prise de Tripoli par les Mameluks (27 avril 1289),' in *Studies on the Christian Arabic Heritage*, ed. R. Ebied and H. Teule (Leuven, 2004), 133–161.

44 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 106, line 191.

45 Arsenius is quoted in *Historia Sicula*, ed. G. Paladino (Bologna, 1922), 132–133. See also M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, 'The Military Orders and the Escape of the Christian Population from the Holy Land in 1291,' *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993), 201–227. Favreau-Lilie discusses in detail who deserted and who was left in Acre before the siege started and during the last days. Many individuals, even entire communities, left in the months preceding the Muslim attack. Members of the Frankish upper class, including nobles, wealthy burghesses and members of the Italian merchant communities left the city days, if not weeks, before the city's fall.

46 Aslanov, 'Eyewitness vs. Mediated Narratives of Lost Cities.' See also M. Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Culture* (Cambridge, MA, 2008), 65–66.

of the *pii seculares* courageously rejected this mortal life and preferred to sacrifice themselves voluntarily and happily in the name of Christ (*mortalem vitam pro Christi nomine magnanimiter aspernantes, et voluntarie mortis supplicium ylariter perferentes*).⁴⁷ Those who endured their passion with joy were admitted into the community of saints and won eternal life.⁴⁸ Another group of martyrs who deserve all praise are the religious, to whom the *Ystoria* dedicates two pages under the rubric *De presbiteris et religiosis cruce signatis*. This chapter includes an event, reported exclusively by Thadeus, of some two hundred members of the religious orders who in an act of active martyrdom burst out unarmed from their shelter in the Templar fortress and died immediately at the hands of the besieging Muslim army. This paragraph has a liturgical flavour, partly due to such expressions as their dying on the “altar of the cross” (*crucis ara*), Christ gesturing them to follow him, with the words *ecce assum*. There is also citing of verses from the Apocalypse 7.14–15: *laverunt stolas suas et dealbaverunt eas in sanguine agni* (“They have washed their robes and have made them white in the blood of the Lamb”), which is part of the liturgy of martyrs.⁴⁹ The idea of martyrdom and imitation of Christ is, however, most explicit in the description of the death of the Dominican Nicolas of Hanappes, patriarch of Jerusalem, who tries frantically to save the poor, stretching out his arms in cruciform manner, *plicatis in modum crucis brachiis*, his face and body expressing his pain.⁵⁰

The vocabulary of martyrdom in the *Ystoria* clearly reflects the popular notion that those who offered their lives voluntarily, in either an active or a passive way, deserved the crown of martyrs.⁵¹ Caroline Smith has noted that in order to maintain people’s enthusiasm for crusading, churchmen tended to reinforce this idea.⁵² This popular notion contrasted, as is well known, with

47 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 109, lines 264–265.

48 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 108–109, lines 248–250: *in sanctorum partem, beatorum gloriam et ad immortalitatis vitam ex voluntarie passionis merito feliciter iam assumptis*.

49 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 110–112, esp. lines 282, 288, 314–315.

50 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 112–114, esp. lines 333, 340–343. See also Matthew Phillips, ‘Crucified with Christ: The Imitation of the Crucified Christ and Crusading Spirituality,’ in T.F. Madden, J. Naus, and V. Ryan (eds.), *Crusades: Medieval Worlds in Conflict* (Aldershot, 2010), 25–33.

51 Thadeus is clearly more adamant about the victims’ saintly status than the author of the *Excidium Aconis*, See Huygens, Introduction, 12.

52 C. Smith, ‘Martyrdom and Crusading in the Thirteenth Century: Remembering the Dead of Louis IX’s Crusades,’ *Al-Masaq* 15 (2003), 189–196 and *Crusading in the Age of Joinville* (Aldershot, 2006), 98–105. Smith traces the appearance of the popular concept of martyrdom in the crusade-related lay writings of the period, *ibid.* 101–102. See also M. Rubin,

the reluctance of the papacy in the late Middle Ages to declare new martyrs, not least those who died in a violent context. To quote André Vauchez: "By the end of the Middle Ages the identification of sanctity with martyrdom was only a memory."⁵³ Thadeus' attitude towards martyrdom reflects the popular disposition that viewed self-sacrifice and glorious death in the context of crusading as martyrdom, despite the attitude of the church.⁵⁴

Heroes and Villains

Prominent among Thadeus' heroes, described as true and exemplary knights of Christ, are William of Beaujeu, Master of the Temple, and Matthew of Clermont, marshal of the Hospital. The Teutonic knights win his praise for being small in number but great in spirit; like the leaders of the other orders, they are worthy of the martyr's crown.⁵⁵ By contrast, he has nothing but scorn for other members of the military orders of the Temple and the Hospital, and for Jean of Grailly, commander of the French forces in Acre – all scorned for their failure to defend the city and its people and for having, out of fear or incompetence, avoided fighting. His harsh condemnation of the members of the military orders targets one of their most criticized characteristics in the 12th-13th centuries – the use of violence in the name of Christ – but condemns them for being insufficiently militant. Overcome by cowardice, they betrayed their vow to the Christian cause and bear most of the blame for Acre's military collapse.⁵⁶

In two non-consecutive paragraphs devoted to the Italian merchants, entitled *De Pisanis et Venetis qualiter se habuerunt* and *De mercatoribus portantibus mercationes et res prohibitas Sarracenis*,⁵⁷ Thadeus censures the merchants of

'Martyrdom in Late Medieval Europe,' in D. Wood (ed.), *Martyrs and Martyrologies* (Oxford, 1993) 154.

53 A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1997, original 1981), 417.

54 See N. Housley, *Fighting for the Cross: Crusading to the Holy Land* (New Haven & London, 2008), 189.

55 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 118–121.

56 On this theme see M. Barber, 'Was the Holy Land Betrayed in 1291?', *Reading Medieval Studies* 34 (2008), 35–52.

57 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 122–124 and 133–134. Two peculiar points are of note here. First, while the rubric (heading) of the first chapter speaks of Pisans and Venetians, they are not mentioned in the text, which refers to the people of the communes in general, *Communitatum denique homines*. Huygens, Introduction, 32, suggests that the person who inserted the

the Italian communes for providing the Muslims with strategic war materials of which the latter were in dire need. Though banned several times, this trade with the Muslims went on uninterrupted even while the wars were being fought. But Thadeus reports from a conversation with the merchants that they were now complaining of the injuries they suffered at the hands of the Muslims, swearing, evidently in vain, never to trade with them again. To that, the report continues, the Muslims reply mockingly that if they, were to cut out one of a Christian merchant's two eyes, he would return to trade with his remaining one.⁵⁸ These two chapters condemning the merchants contain harsh words (e.g. *maledictionis filii et perditionis alumpni, solo nomine Christiani* / "cursed children, sons of perdition, Christians only in name")⁵⁹ and provide evidence for Thadeus' firsthand acquaintance with the realities of the Latin Kingdom. They also serve as a platform for a sermon condemning riches, earthly gain and materiality in general. He rails against the blinding illusion of temporal profit that leads to non Christian behaviour. True Christians, as opposed to *ipsi falsi Christiani*,⁶⁰ should have relinquished their obsession with earthly possessions and aided the Christian populace.

The Image of the Muslims

A prominent feature of the *Ystoria's* description of the Muslims attacking Acre is their utter barbarity. Such adjectives as savage, insane, blasphemous, blood-thirsty and avaricious abound throughout the text, and they are powerfully mirrored in the emotional descriptions of rape, pillage, massacre, defilement of crucifixes and holy pictures, and the corruption of children, women, monks and nuns. It seemed intolerable that the city should fall into the hands of such contemptible attackers, characterized by a weak intellect and bestial desires.⁶¹ At the time of his writing, the list of atrocities committed by the enemy had both a long history and an extended future, from the biblical and classical nar-

rubrics was Genoese, trying to implicate Genoa's rivals. Second, the chapter *De mercatoribus* appears, as if hiding out of place, in the third part of the *Ystoria* (see above), which consists mainly of lamentation and interpretation.

58 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 134, lines 891–898. See also a recent discussion by P. Edbury, 'Reflections on the Mamluk Destruction of Acre (1291)', in *Union in Separation: Diasporic Groups and Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean (1100–1800)*, ed. G. Christ et al. (Rome, 2015), 199–205.

59 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 133, lines 869–870.

60 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 134, line 891.

61 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 152, lines 1338–1341.

natives of lost cities to the fall of Constantinople.⁶² But banal as these descriptions may sound, there is no doubt of their authenticity,⁶³ nor of their power to generate the emotional response that certainly was one of the goals of Thadeus' writing.

But Thadeus, like other Western observers could also recognize some worthy qualities in the Muslims, such as their military skill and tactical shrewdness. Though the Sultan is described in such apocalyptic terms as the old serpent, the great dragon and Lucifer, Thadeus is nonetheless impressed by that ruler's skilful leadership of his troops, and devotes a paragraph to al-Ashraf's cleverness, *De sagacitate soldani*.⁶⁴ With all their abhorrent vices, the Muslims fare better when compared with the Italian merchants, because although the Muslims are generally after worldly glory, they still revere their own (albeit repugnant) religion.⁶⁵ Speaking indeed from the viewpoint of the Muslims, Thadeus refers to Muhammad as "a most holy prophet."⁶⁶ Yet, despite his comments on their military skills and their commercial astuteness, Thadeus perceives the Muslims first and foremost as a religious adversary and one with an important role to play in the correction of the Christians as a whole. In this, it seems to me, their moral role is no less important than their actual brutality.⁶⁷

Conclusion

As the earliest full-length account of the fall of Acre Thadeus' *Ystoria* is quite surprising. A relatively brief report of a number of episodes is embedded in a

62 Aslanov, 'Eyewitness vs. Mediated Narratives of Lost Cities'; Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, especially chapter 2: 'Barbarians at the Gates'; L.F. Smith, 'Pope Pius II's Use of Turkish Atrocities,' *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* 46 (1966), 407–415.

63 Direct evidence on the rape of young Jewish women during the battles of Acre is found in a Genizah document from 1291 or early 1292: M.A. Friedman, 'New Genizah Sources for the Crusader Period and the House of Rambam,' *Cathedra* 40 (1986), 63–82 (in Hebrew).

64 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 124.

65 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 124, lines 631–643.

66 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 132, line 832: *prophete Machometi sanctissimi nomen*. On this see also Huygens, Introduction, 30.

67 Elsewhere Thadeus says: *credamus firmiter ad castigacionem et emendacionem quidem nostram et non ad perdicionis illorum interitum evenisse* ("We must believe steadfastly that [these punishments] occurred for our chastisement and correction, and not for their destruction"), Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 153, lines 1330–1333. On this theme see also J. Hankins, 'Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995), 111–207.

complex literary-rhetorical construction that must have been laborious to compose within just a few months after the events. It has the unique value of containing firsthand and eyewitness testimonies of refugees and survivors, which the author uses to zoom in on a short period of time, amplifying each episode and presenting the disaster mostly in terms of its human toll. This concentration, along with his notorious *copia verborum* provides him with ample material to carve models of Christian excellence and martyrdom, both lay and religious, and examples of divine justice. The images evoked by Thadeus' depictions reflected the "enormous psychological impact"⁶⁸ of the fall of Acre and may have contributed, through the graphic imagery of people and places, to constructing the collective memory of it in Europe. I have shown that at least parts of the text may seem to be a response to queries and scruples about the meaning of the events, and the text may thus be representative of more than one voice.

The inspiration of the *Ystoria* is religious. It conceives of the confrontation between Christianity and Islam in a religious framework and describes the adversaries in terms of religious motifs. It advances spiritual ideas of poverty, asceticism and imitation of Christ that were prevalent in Neapolitan Joachimism of the period.⁶⁹ But it is not aimed solely at a religious audience, as it clearly directs its call to lay authorities and addresses lay concerns.

Many ideas stressed in the treatise are commonplace: justification of divine judgment, the call for revenge, and the main explanation of the fall of the Latin Kingdom, "because of our sins." But several of Thadeus' emphases are not so ordinary and create an ambiguous undercurrent within an apparently unequivocally theodicean attitude. I will try to illustrate this with a couple of examples.

The sad and elegant description of the last hours of Nicholas of Hanapes, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who tried to save the poor people of Acre at the last minute, tells of the boat, *navicula*, in which he was able to escape and could have saved his life. However, the patriarch, in desperation and compassion, allowed too many refugees to board the boat, until it tipped over and was submerged with him inside.⁷⁰ To Christian readers the lengthy description may have been reminiscent of the Gospel passage that speaks of a *navicula* with Jesus and his disciples on board, about to sink in a tempest (Matt 8.23–27). In

68 Huygens, Introduction, 9.

69 See Musto, 'Franciscan Joachimism,' e.g. 435.

70 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 113–114, lines 350–370. The story is told differently in the *Templar of Tyre*, 115, where the patriarch attempts to board a Venetian ship but slips into the water and drowns.

the Gospel, the boat is saved through divine intercession, but this was not offered to the people of Acre. The foundering of the boat, a symbol of the church, of healing and salvation, along with the possibly implicit allusion to and contrast with the Gospel story, could be understood not only as a story of the martyrdom of the patriarch but also as a divine disengagement from this symbolic ship of salvation.

Another ambiguity is found in the paragraph entitled *De corruptione masculorum*. This paragraph raises some difficulties. It is placed within the sequence of atrocities committed by the Muslims after they seized Acre. But the crimes are not ascribed to the Muslims. Nor does it not say in any clear way who committed the detestable crimes:

sed in eum, propudor, sexum, in quo naturale fedus nichil omnino permittit sevi criminis quomodolibet perpetrari, detestabile illud libidinis genus, execrabile quippe diis, nature infestum humane et aeris etiam infectivum, exercentibus cum ipsis adolescentibus sceleratis ipsis diffidentie filii impudenter

But for shame! In that sex, upon which the natural law permits nothing whatsoever of savage crime to be perpetrated, the detestable type of desire, abhorrent to the gods, dangerous to human nature and infectious even to the air. These wicked adolescents who deal sinfully with those diffident sons.⁷¹

Moreover, a few lines further down, the text refers to *Pentapolis*, the region of Sodom and Gomorrah, and to the fire sent from Heaven to rain on the disobedient sons. Whether this paragraph refers to the Christians of Acre or to the Muslim conquerors, remains vague.

Another case of intriguing ambiguity is discussed at length by Huygens, who admits that he could not suggest a satisfying conclusion. Here, the word *dominus*,⁷² someone with a violent and destructive appetite, may grammatically refer to either the Muslim Sultan or the Master of the Temple. According to the context, it must refer to the Sultan, but grammatically the sloppy construction leaves the case unclear. Huygens adds: "I do not invoke as an argument the fact that in a manuscript transmission characterized by so much interference

⁷¹ Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 128, lines 447–457. I thank Dr. Mary Garrison for her help in the translation and discussion of this difficult paragraph.

⁷² Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 117, line 465.

by (readers or) scribes no one apparently took offence in this particular case.”⁷³ This paragraph, like the one discussed earlier, may provide further evidence that the *Ystoria* was read and used by different audiences. But perhaps not only those in favour of crusading and of saving the Holy Land could find in it support for their cause.

Finally, Thadeus insists that the Christians are rightfully entitled to their heritage, the Holy Land: *terra sancta, hereditas nostra*.⁷⁴ But a sentiment of estrangement from the land is expressed in his proclamation that the land is “neither pious nor holy.”⁷⁵ Nowhere in the work does Thadeus challenge the common explanation for the fall of Acre, the *peccatis exigentibus hominis* argument.⁷⁶ But while acknowledging divine justice and building on the long tradition of the religious memory of destruction, he allows himself to ponder whether the Christians as a whole are worthy of the Holy Land, and whether the Holy Land itself desires the Christians, her children, to return.⁷⁷

73 Huygens, Introduction, 33–34.

74 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 164, lines 1598–99, and *passim*.

75 *non pie nec sancte iuxta terre illius qualitatem*, Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 102, lines 82–83. On the theme of estrangement see also I. Shagrir, ‘The Fall of Acre as a Spiritual Crisis: The Letters of Riccoldo of Monte Croce,’ *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire* 90 (2012), 1107–1120.

76 For a discussion of this theme, see E. Stickel, *Der Fall von Akkon* (Frankfurt, 1975), 190 ff.

77 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, 157, lines 1445–1448.

The Fall of Acre (1291): Considerations of Annalists in Genoa, Pisa, and Venice (13th/14th–16th Centuries)

Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie

About fifty years after the Mameluke conquest of Acre in 1291, the German author Ludolph of Suchem declared: “The sole cause for the loss of the city were the quarrels (*maledicta discordia*) between the Italians residing there.”¹ In particular, he declared that the arrogance of the Venetians, Pisans and Genoese had led to the city’s fall and ruin. His complaint is one of many charges, repeatedly raised since the early 13th century, against the three most prominent Italian maritime republics of the 12th/13th century: that they betrayed the welfare of the Crusader States and ultimately even the city of Acre in pursuit of their own commercial interests. These accusations are based on Jacques de Vitry’s verdict, who as bishop of Acre had witnessed the Italians himself during the Fifth Crusade. In his opinion, their bitter disputes and conflicts among themselves, their reciprocal envy, their insatiable greed and their trade relations with the Muslims inhibited them from seriously engaging in the campaign against the Muslims (i.e. against Egypt).² Only a few years after the fall of Acre, the Venetian Marino Sanudo Torsello adopted this damning viewpoint in his treatise on the Crusades, thereby influencing public opinion about the maritime republics for centuries to come.³ Ludolph of Suchem’s perspective is influenced by it as well.

- 1 Ludolphus de Sudheim, *De itinere Terre Sancte* para 2, ed. G.A. Neumann, *Archives de l’Orient Latin* 2, pt. 2 (1884), 327–377, at 340; Ferdinand Deycks (ed.), *Ludolphi rectoris ecclesiae parochialis in Suchem De itinere Terrae Sanctae liber*, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 25 (Stuttgart, 1851), 41; *Ludolf von Suchem’s Description of the Holy Land*, tr. A. Stewart, in *The library of the Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society*, 12 (London 1896, repr. New York, 1971), 53. *Ludolphi... liber* 26 (ed. Deycks, 54–61; tr. Stewart, 42–47) remembers the Mameluks conquest of Acre and the town’s still impressive ruins he probably had looked at.
- 2 Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis* bk. 2 (*Historia Iherosolimitana abbreviata*) chap. 73, in *Gesta Dei per Francos, sive orientalium expeditionum, et regni Francorum Hierosolimitani historia*, ed. Jacques de Bongars, 2 (Hanau, 1611), cols. 1047–1124, at col. 1089.
- 3 Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* 2.8.5, ed. Bongars in *Gesta dei per Francos*, 2 (Hanau, 1611; repr. Jerusalem, 1972), 186. His description of the fall of Acre and the

Were historiographers from Venice, Genoa and Pisa concerned to portray the history of their cities since the 1290s, prompted by the fall of Acre to describe this event as well? Everyone who had successfully escaped from Acre had much to tell, but only a very few wrote their experiences down, or found someone to do it for them. In such cases, the authors preserving their testimonies in writing were usually clerics. The eyewitness accounts of the conduct of the Italian merchants during the siege of Acre are revealing enough to make it appear worthwhile to take a closer look at the city chronicles.⁴ However, was the fall of Acre an event later generations in Venice, Pisa, and Genoa still remembered?

I Genoa

Let us take a look at Genoa first. The fall of Acre became an issue in Genoa with exceptional speed. Genoa endeavored, much earlier than other communities, to record all significant events and important developments considered worth remembering. Although there was no longer a Genoese merchants quarter in Acre on the eve of the siege, Genoese merchants were not officially barred from conducting trade in the city. They continued to send their commercial fleets on trade missions to Acre from other neighboring coastal cities, Tyre in particular. Genoese seamen on board two fully loaded merchant galleys arriving at Acre in the final days of the siege witnessed the distress of the crowds gathered at the harbor, desperately on the lookout for a means of escape. Captain Andrea Pellato, soon a well-known figure in Genoa, ferried large numbers of refugees on his two galleys to ships anchored further out at sea, forcing the captains to take the penniless on board as well. Pellato also brought many people to safety on his own ships. News of Andrea Pellato's good deeds certainly reached Genoa by the end of 1291 and was welcome material for the city

collapse of the Holy Land was adopted by the Franciscan brother Paolino Veneto, *Speculum sive Satyrica rerum gestarum mundi (Historia Satyrica)*, in *Antiquitates Italiae medii aevi*, ed. Ludovico Antonio Muratori, 4 (Milan, 1741), cols. 951-1034, at chap. 235, col. 1017. Muratori was unable to identify the author and gave the wrong title: *Excerpta ex Jordani chronico*.

- 4 Bartholomeus de Neocastro, *Historia Sicula, 1250-1293*, ed. G. Paladino, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, new edition (below: RIS²), 13, pt. 3 (Bologna, 1921-1922), 131-33. *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de St. Jean de Jérusalem, 110-1310*, ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, 3 (Paris, 1899, repr. Munich, 1980), 593-94 no. 4157. Magister Thadeus civis Neapolitanis, *Ystoria de desolatione et convlctione civitatis Acconensis et tocivs Terre Sancte*, in *The Fall of Acre*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis* 202 (Turnhout, 2004), lines 593, 896-98, 122, 133-134.

annals: Jacobus de Auria who descended from one of the city's most prominent families and was annalist for the period after 1280, continued working on public commission up to the year 1293, presenting his manuscript to the Genoese civic government on 16 July 1294.⁵

In the 14th and 15th century, however, the annals and with them the memory of the fall of Acre slid into obscurity. Not until the 16th century, when the zenith of Genoese trade in the eastern Mediterranean had long since past, the annals were rediscovered, and with them the news of the Genoese rescue operation at the besieged city of Acre. Agostino Giustiniani, a learned Dominican of Genoese origin (1470–1536) and since 1514 Bishop of Nebbia on Corsica, used Jacobus de Auria's report as the foundation for his *Annali castigatissimi*, published in 1537 two years after completion.⁶ Giustiniani transformed Captain Andrea Pellato with his galley oarsmen into the valiant rescuer of the king of Cyprus. Thanks to the bold action of the Genoese, the king and the many other passengers (*molte genti*) were able to leave Acre only just in time and safely escape to Cyprus. The Genoese acted like "truly good Christians."⁷ Obviously, with increasing distance in time from the events, a myth of the rescue of the king of Cyprus had evolved during the final decades of the 14th and the first decades of the 15th century, to justify Genoa's powerful political position in the kingdom of Cyprus. This myth became entrenched in the collective memory of later generations not so much by Giustiniani's annals, however, but by Paolo Interiano's *Ristretto delle historie genovesi* and by another chronicle of Genoa composed roughly two generations later by the learned cleric Uberto Foglietta (1518–1581) who had had to copy Giustiniani's *Annali* by order of the Genoese

5 Jacobus de Auria, *Annales Ianuenses*, ed. Cesare Imperiale di Sant' Angelo, *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori del MXCIX al MCCXCIII*, 5, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* 15 (Roma, 1929), 130. With regard to the author, see U. Balzani, *Le cronache italiane nel medio evo* (Milano, 1909), 299–304.

6 Agostino Giustiniani, *Castigatissimi annali ... della ... repubblica di Genoa* (Genoa, 1537). See also the slightly revised and annotated 19th century version edited by Giovanni Battista Spotorno, *Annali della repubblica di Genova di monsignore Agostino Giustiniano*, 2 vols. (Genova, 1854). On his life and works, see A. Cevolotto, 'Giustiniani, Agostino,' *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (below: DBI), 57 (Rome, 2001), 301–06; G. Musso, 'Agostino Giustiniani, l'uomo e l'opera,' in *Agostino Giustiniani, annalista genovese ed i suoi tempi; Accademia di S. Chiara, Sezione studi storici; Atti del convegno di studi, Genova, 28–31 maggio 1982* (Genova, 1984), 13–21; V. Polonio, 'Agostino Giustiniani scrittore di storia,' *ibid.*, 23–47.

7 Giustiniani, *Annali* bk. 3, fol. 111v: 'come boni christiani, saluorono il Re di Cypri.' Cf. *id.*, *Annali*, ed. Spotorno, 1:492.

government when he was a young man.⁸ Foglietta's history of the city, based on Giustiniani's annals as well as on Interiano's *Ristretto* and written in scholarly Latin, was accomplished in 1581 but published only after the author's death, and printed numerous times between the 16th and 18th centuries. Thanks to a translation into the Tuscan vernacular published by the Florentine humanist Francesco Serdonati in 1597, it also became known beyond the borders of Genoa.⁹

II Pisa

Now let us turn to Pisa: merchants from Pisa, Florence, and other Tuscan cities are known to have been in Acre at the outset of the siege.¹⁰ Since 1156 the Pisans were obliged to participate in the defense of the kingdom of Jerusalem.¹¹

8 P. Interiano, *Ristretto delle Historie Genovesi* (Genoa, 1551); *ibid.*, bk. 3, fols. 85v-86r on the fall of Acre. He insists (fol. 85v) on the importance of the Genoese support for the king of Cyprus (saluatosi a gran uentura il Re di Cipri con due galee Genovesi quiui ritrouatosi). Paolo Interiano probably used the *Januensium Monumenta*, a history of Genoa until 1435/1496 written on request of the Genoese aristocrat Nicolaus de Mari by the end of the 15th century. The author was a Franciscan brother from Cyprus who lived in the Genoese convent. His detailed description of the fall of Acre is based not only on Genoese chronicles but also on Cypriot tradition (*Cronaca del Templare di Tiro* [see below, n. 36], 206–26); it was edited by P.G. Golubovich O.F.M. from the oldest manuscript (Genoa: Biblioteca comunale Berio, MS m.r.I,1,11; 16th c.) in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, 2 (*Addenda al sec. XIII, e fonti per sec. XIV*) (Quaracchi presso Firenze, 1913), 204–208. See also *ibid.*, 20–4. On Interiano's life and works, see *Indice biografico Italiano*, 6 (3rd edition Munich, 2002), 1904 (with bibliography). Uberto Foglietta, *Historiae Genuensium libri XII* (Genoa, 1585). The chronicle was integrated into *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae mari ligustico et alpibus vicinae, quo continentur optimi quique scriptores qui Ligurum et Insubrum Genuensium et Mediolanensium ... memoriae prodiderunt*, ed. Johannes Georgius Graevius, 1 pt. 1 (2nd edition Leiden, 1704), cols. 201(215)–744. On the life and works of U. Foglietta, see C. Bitossi, 'Foglietta, Oberto (Uberto)', in *DBI*, 48 (Rome, 1997), 495–99.

9 *Dell'istorie di Genova di mons. Vberto Foglietta patrizio genovese libri XII*, tr. F. Serdonati (Genoa, 1597). On Serdonati, see G. Bárberi-Squarotti, 'Serdonati, Francesco', in *Grande dizionario enciclopedico*, 17 (Torino, 1972), 123.

10 B. Latini, ed. O. Hartwig, *Quellen und Forschungen zur ältesten Geschichte von Florenz*, 2 (Halle, 1880), 232; R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz*, 4, pt. 2 (Berlin, 1927), 393; see Favreau-Lilie, 'The military orders and the escape of the Christian population from the Holy Land in 1291,' *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993), 211, n.29 [201–227].

11 Ead., *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land vom ersten Kreuzzug bis zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne* (Amsterdam, 1989), 196.

Therefore they contributed to the city's defense within the limits of their means, since, for them, much was at stake. The Pisan community of Acre used their barks and other smaller vessels suitable for coastal shipping as platforms for the catapults they constructed to fight the Mameluke besiegers. Within the city itself, the Pisan consul erected a great wooden war engine, between the "Accursed Tower" (also called the "King's Tower") and the church San Romano, to prevent potential invaders from advancing, should they succeed in breaching the fortifications. This device made no impression whatsoever on the Mamelukes, however, who set it on fire in passing after storming the "Accursed Tower."¹² The number of Pisans who perished in the fighting in Acre is uncertain, but in all likelihood the leader of the Pisan base was among the casualties.¹³ On the other hand, not all Pisans and Tuscans stayed in Acre until the fall of the inner city walls on 18 Mai 1291. In all probability, some of the Pisan and other Tuscan merchants – be they residents or perhaps just spending the winter in Acre waiting for the arrival of the spring fleet – were able to escape to Cyprus on the great Templar ship, the "Falco."¹⁴ Whether or not they were able to rescue their entire movable wealth, precious merchandize and liquid assets as well, remains uncertain.

Unlike Genoa, at the end of the 13th century no one in Pisa thought to record the events so significant for the community. After the disastrous defeat of its fleet near the islet Meloria in the summer of 1284 and in view of the continuous conflicts with Genoa thereafter, Pisa was perhaps too preoccupied with its own struggle for political-economic survival.

The first city chronicle to treat the fall of Acre was not compiled until around 1350. This chronicle, by an anonymous author and preserved in Lucca, was only discovered 100 years ago; to this date, only excerpts have been published.¹⁵ The text discloses many details about the situation in Acre prior to and during the siege¹⁶. The author states the number of crusaders mustered in Acre (12,000) who arrived in 1290, and their regional origins (there were French,

¹² Ead., 'The military orders,' 208 n. 18.

¹³ Pisa, Archivio di Stato (below: AS PI), MS Roncioni 352, fol. 13v: "el soldano di Babilonia venne a oste a Sacharj di Soria et presela per forza che era drento (sic!) messer Pannochia della Sassetta consulo per li Pisani et funne presi et morti de Pisani."

¹⁴ Favreau-Lilie, 'The military orders,' 210–11.

¹⁵ Anon., *Cronaca Pisana* (xivth century), Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 54. See P. Silva, 'Questioni o ricerche di cronistica pisana,' *Archivio Muratoriano. Studi e ricerche in servizio della nuova edizione dei Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, 2, fasc. 13 (Città di Castello, 1913), 3–67, at 42–67; O. Banti, 'Studio alla genesi dei testi cronistici pisani del secolo XIV,' *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medioevo* 75 (1963), 259–319.

¹⁶ Silva, 'Questioni' (see above, n. 15), 48.

Germans, Catalans, and Italians); he mentions that the foremost Frankish barons and the leading representatives of the religious military orders were present. The chronicler does not discuss any details of the siege and makes rather vague references to the strength of the Mamelukes and the weakness of the defenders. He writes of the general panic and mass flight after the killing of the Master of the Temple, and reports the disorientation of the defenders, who offered no resistance to the city's occupation after the collapse of the inner walls.

The author recounts the plundering and devastation of Acre, its complete destruction, again without providing details. He does stress the number of civilian victims: over 70,000 people – men, women, and children – were taken prisoner and sold into slavery. The chronicle makes no mention of the Pisan consul's involvement in negotiations, nor of any Pisan participation in the city's defense. We learn nothing, as well, about anyone returning home, i.e. about successful escapes or about material losses. In contrast to the Genoese annalist Jacobus de Auria, who abstained from passing judgment, the author of this Pisan chronicle does attempt to determine the reasons for the collapse of the defense, but refrains from voicing his own opinion. Without identifying his sources, he reports that according to some people the destruction of Acre was not primarily the result of the military orders' vying for supreme military command. Rather, that it was Divine judgment intended to cleanse the great sinners, living hitherto fearlessly in Acre, of all their vile and abominable sins. The Pisan chronicler, too, perceives the fall of Acre as the preliminary to the ultimate end of the Frankish rule in the Holy Land, and therefore as a great loss for all Christianity.¹⁷ Because of the explanations offered to his readers, the author appears to be a cleric, familiar not only with the great contemporary accounts of the fall of Acre, such as *Excidium Aconis* or the treatise by Master Thaddaeus, but also with the older Florentine tradition, and particularly the *Cronica nuova* by Giovanni Villani.¹⁸ This anonymous Chronicle of Pisa from around 1350 was, unfortunately, soon forgotten and remained so up until the 20th century.

17 Ibid., 48–49: “dissesi che questa distrusione d’Acri non fusse tanto per la grande discordia ch’era tra li grandi maestri che v’erano c’ognuno volea comandare quanto fusse il giudicio di Dio per purgare i grandi peccatori che v’erano dentro d’ogni laido e brutto pechato non temendo il giudicio di Dio.”

18 *Excidium Aconis* II, in *The Fall of Acre 1291* (see above, n. 4), 63–96; Magister Thadeus civis Neapolitanis, *Ystoria de desolatione et conuclatione civitatis Aconensis et tocivs Terre Sancte*, in *The Fall of Acre 1291* (see above, n. 4), 97–164; Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica* 7.145, ed. G. Porta, 1 (Parma, 1990), 618–20. See also *Cronica Fiorentina compilata nel secolo XIII*, ed. P. Villari, *I Primi due secoli della storia di Firenze*, 2 (Florence, 1894), 254–55.

The second city chronicle of Pisa recounting the fall of Acre and the collapse of the Crusader States was not composed until the end of the 16th century. The author did not hesitate to consult and process material outside of the Pisan tradition. Many of the topics addressed in the history of Pisa begun in 1592 by the learned cleric Raffaello Roncioni, born in Pisa in the mid-16th century¹⁹, were based on the *Castigatissimi Annales* by the Genoese chronicler Agostino Giustiniani. The origin of his material was secondary to Roncioni. The rivalry between the two maritime trade powers Genoa and Pisa was long past, thus Roncioni was able to consult Giustiniani without reservation. Raffaello Roncioni augmented Giustiniani with further information gleaned from the account attributed to Arsenius, a monk who had escaped from Acre, from the *Historia ecclesiastica nova* by the Dominican Tholomeus of Lucca, and from Giovanni Villanis' chronicle.²⁰ But Roncioni, too, remains silent concerning the conduct of the Pisans and other Tuscans in Acre at the time. We learn nothing about the Pisan consul's participation in the consultations regarding the negotiations with the sultan of Egypt and the organization of the city's defense, nor do we learn anything about Pisan duties towards defending Acre. The only indication of any Pisan participation in the battle against the Mamelukes and their willingness to make sacrifices is a reference to the Pisan consul of 1290/1291 who, according to Roncioni, perished in the fighting.²¹ The leader of the Pisan base (Panocchia Sassetta) actually was a member of the Orlandi family, and he was not the first Orlandi to hold this position.²² Ever

19 R. Roncioni, *Delle istorie pisane libri xvi bk. 12*, ed. F. Bonaini, 1 pt.2, *Archivio storico italiano* 1st ser. 6, pt. 1 (1844), at 651. On his life (he died in 1618) and family, see Bonaini, *ibid.*, x-xx; M. Luzzatti, 'Le origini di una famiglia nobile pisana: I Roncioni nei secoli XII e XIII,' *Bullettino senese di storia patria* 73-75 = 3rd ser. 25-27 (1968), 60-118.

20 The monk's account of what had happened in Acre during the siege and conquest of the city addressed to Pope Nicolaus IV, was transmitted by Bartholomaeus de Neocastro (see above, n. 4), 131-33; Tholomeus Lucensis, *Historia ecclesiastica nova* 23. 23, ed. O. Clavuot, MGH SS 39 (Hannover, 2009), 629-30; Villani, *Nuova Cronica* (see above, n. 18), 6.13, 242.

21 Roncioni, *Delle istorie pisane* bk. 12, 651.

22 Roncioni took the name of this consul from an anonymus Pisan chronicle: AS PI, MS Roncioni 352, fol. 13v: "el soldano di Babilonia venne a oste a Sacharj di Soria et presela per forza che era drento (sic!) messer Pannochia della Sassetta consulo per li Pisani et funne presi et morti de Pisani." In 1258 Sigerio Sassetta served not only as "honorabilis consul Pisanorum" but also as one of the captains responsible for the Pisan fighting against the Genoese in Crusader Acre: *Chronicon aliud breve pisanum incerti auctoris 1101-1268*, ed. M.L. Gentile, RIS² 6, pt. 2 (Bologna, 1930-1936), 109; see the notes of Raffaello Roncioni, in AS PI, MS Roncioni 359, fol. 41r and MS Roncioni 349, 310. See also the anonymous *Chronicon Pisanum* M.L. Gentile did not take notice of: AS PI, MS Roncioni 352, fol. 2r: "li Pisani fanno compagnia co Venisiani e andorno in Acridi di Soria e disfenno la ruga e la torre de

since the publication of Bonaini's edition in 1844, crusade historians such as Reinhold Röhricht have been influenced by Roncioni's representation of the fall of Acre in their perception of the conduct of the Pisans during the siege of Acre.²³

The learned Pisan author and canon Paolo Tronci (1585–1648) was unfamiliar with Roncioni's chronicle, however. He was vicar-general of the Pisan archbishop Giuliano de' Medici in 1631, when he rearranged the archiepiscopal archives. This work made him an expert of Pisa's documentary tradition but the readers of the *Memorie istoriche della città di Pisa* – an extract from his unnoticed and unpublished world chronicle which was not compiled by him and came out posthumously –, learn nothing about the fall of Acre.²⁴ This version of events would dominate the Pisan conception of history until the publication of Roncioni's chronicle centuries later.²⁵

III Venice

Let us now direct our attention to the Venetian tradition. Venice was bound by its treaty with the Kingdom of Jerusalem, dating from 1125, to assume a certain share of the defense of Tyre.²⁶ For Acre, where the Venetians controlled a quite

genovesi e caviornosi d'Acra ed era consolo per li Pisani messer Seghieri della Sassetta." Anon., *Chronicon Pisanum*, AS Lucca, MS 53, fol. 37v, reports that Sigerio Sassetta was already present in Acre in 1258 when the anti-Genoese treaty between the Pisans and their allies was concluded.

- 23 R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (Innsbruck, 1898), 1020, 1021–22 with n. 6, at 1022.
- 24 P. Tronci, *Memorie istoriche della città di Pisa* (Pisa/Livorno, 1682). A revised edition of this book was published some 150 years later: Paolo Tronci, *Annales Pisani*, ed. G. de Medici, 2 vols. (Pisa, 1828–29). See also *Annali di Pisa di Paolo Tronci rifiuti, arricchiti di molti fatti eseguitati fino all'anno 1840*, ed. Enrico Valtancoli Montazio, 2 vols. (Lucca, 1842–43). On his life and works, see P. Bacci, *Il Duomo di Pisa descritto dal Can. Paolo Tronci (1585–1648)* (Pisa, 1922), VII–XIII; E. Cristiani et al., *Paolo Tronci storico e erudito pisano*, Biblioteca del Bollettino Storico Pisano, collana storica, 29 (Pisa, 1985).
- 25 The authors of *Memorie istoriche di più uomini illustri pisani*, 4 vols. (Pisa, 1790–1792), 2nd ed. Pisa, 1812), and A. Da Morrona, *Compendio di Pisa illustrato* (Pisa, 1798); id., *Pisa Illustrata nelle arti e nel disegno* (Pisa, 1798; 2nd ed. Pisa, 1812) had a good knowledge of Pisan and Florentine historiographical tradition, but they concentrated on the role of Pisa during the first and the third crusade. They were not interested at all in commemorating the Pisans who were killed during the defence of Acre in 1291.
- 26 MGH DD reg. lat. Hierosolymitanorum, ed. H.E. Mayer, 1 (Hannover, 2010), no. 93, 245, lines 21–22.

substantial portion of the inner city since the War of Saint Sabas²⁷, there was no such agreement. An appropriate contract with the political-military command still needed to be negotiated.

Initially, some Venetians probably joined in the city's defense, but only a very few fought until the fall of the city wall on 18 May. Their contribution to the defence must have been so unimportant that afterwards nobody reported on it; neither contemporaneous chronicles nor documents mentioned them. The wealthy merchants, in any case, secretly escaped with their families and their transportable belongings to Cyprus on their own or stolen ships, evidently irrespective of the interdict officially in effect up until 18 May prohibiting anyone from departing.²⁸ On the other hand, Venetians did help rescue refugees who had ventured out on high sea in small boats. Up to 18 May 1291, they were taken on board Venetian merchant ships that had arrived at Acre in mid May, staying anchored for several days well within sight of the city, yet at a safe distance from the harbor.²⁹

As in Pisa, around 1300 no one in Venice recorded what the merchants returning home from Acre reported. A review of Venetian chronicles written between the 14th and early 16th century reveals that the fall of Acre was depicted much differently before and after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in May 1453. Venetian chroniclers had every reason to ignore what the Venetian Marino Sanudo the Elder had written about the conduct of the Italians in Acre in his famous treatise on the Crusades, dating from the beginning of the 14th century.³⁰ According to him all Italians and particularly those from the maritime republics, including the Venetians, were greedy,

27 Favreau-Lilie, 'Die Venezianer im Heiligen Land,' in *Venezia incrocio delle culture*, ed. F. Schmieder and K. Herbers (Rome, 2008), 47–70, at 54–55. D. Jacoby, 'Crusader Acre in the thirteenth century: urban layout and topography,' *Studi Medievali* 3. Ser. 20 (1979), 1–45, at 34–36. I. del Punta, *Guerrieri, crociati, mercanti: i Toscani in Levante in età pieno-medievale (secoli XI–XIII)*, Uomini e mondi medievali-centro italiano di studi sul basso medioevo, Accademia Tudertina 20 (Spoleto, 2010), 123, asserts wrongly that Venice received one third of Acre but few years after the town's conquest.

28 Favreau-Lilie, 'The military orders' (see above, n. 10), 212 n. 33.

29 *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314). La caduta degli Stati Crociati nel racconto di un testimone oculare* 241 (477), ed. L. Minervini, *Nuovo Medioevo* 59 (Naples, 2000), 196. Cf. Favreau-Lilie, 'The military orders' (see above, n. 10), 213–15.

30 Marino Sanudo Torsello, *De Statu Terre Sancte*: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 4939; id., *Conditiones Terre Sancte*: 1. Venice, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana (below: BNM), MS lat. Z. 547 (1924); 2. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 1462. Id., *Liber secretorum* (see above, n. 3). See also H. Simonsfeld, 'Studien zu Marino Sanudo dem Älteren,' *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 7/1 (1881), 43–72.

unscrupulous merchants who did not hesitate to betray the lives of others in order to ruthlessly advance their own interests and pursuit of profit, and for reasons of avarice made no serious attempts to engage in the fight against the Muslims.

Marino Sanudo's harsh criticism was not only based on Jacques de Vitry's condemnation of the merchants from the Italian maritime republics, written 100 years previously, but also on an anonymous contemporary eyewitness account of the fall of Acre.³¹ Needless to say, this was entirely unsuitable as a model for portraying the fall of Acre in Venetian city chronicles. The detailed description of the fall of Acre and the events leading up to it, contained in the world chronicle by the Venetian Franciscan Paolino Veneto, who more or less adopted, shortened and paraphrased Marino Sanudo's account³², did not find much favor with Venetian chroniclers, either.

The often anonymous city chronicles written up to the mid-15th century³³ by no means omit all reference to the siege of Acre and its subsequent fall. But they do not dwell on the topic for very long and provide no information about the circumstances leading up to the siege, nor its progression. Nevertheless, they do relate certain facts about the size of the besieging forces³⁴, the duration of the siege³⁵, the date of the conquest.³⁶ Also the total destruction of Acre is

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- 31 Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis* (see above, n. 2); *Excidium Aconis I–II*, in *The Fall of Acre* (see above, n. 4), 47–96.
- 32 Marino Sanudo Torsello (see above, n. 3) 3. 12. 22, 230, 231; Paolino Veneto (see above, n. 3). Muratori published an incomplete edition of Paolino Veneto's 3rd version of his *Speculum*. See B. Degenhart and A. Schmitt, 'Marino Sanudo und Paolino Veneto. Zwei Literaten des 14. Jahrhunderts,' *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 14 (1973), 1–137.
- 33 See the bibliography of editions compiled by A. Nanetti (ed.), *Il Codice Morosini: il mondo visto da Venezia (1094–1433)*, 4, Quaderni della Rivista di bizantinistica 10 pt.4 (Spoleto, 2010), 1759–1813, see 1777–96.
- 34 *Venetiarum historia vulgo Petro Iustiniano Iustiniani filio adiudicata*, ed. R. Cessi and F. Bennato, Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie; monumenti storici n.s. 18 (Venice, 1964), 195: "cum CC^M equitum peditumque CC^M comitiva"; Anon., *Cronaca 'A Latina'; Cronaca veneziana del 1343*, ed. C. Negri di Montenegro, Quaderni della Rivista di bizantinistica, 2 (Spoleto, 2004), 142: "cum milicia copiosa et 200 000 equitum et 300 000 peditum"; *Cronica di Venexia detta di Enrico Dandolo*, ed. R. Pesce (Venice, 2010), 106: 'più de iim iic millia a cavallo et a pè.'
- 35 48 days: *Venetiarum historia* (see above, n. 34), 195; Anon., *Cronaca 'A Latina'* (see above, n. 34), 142.
- 36 18th May [1291]: *Venetiarum historia*, 196; Anon., *Cronaca 'A Latina'*, 141. *Il Codice Morosini* (see above, n. 31), 49. 4, pt. 1:43; *The Morosini Codex*, ed. M.P. Ghezzeo, J.R. Melville-Jones, A. Rizzi, 3 vols., Archivio del Litorale Adriatico 3 (Padoa, 1999), 1:76 (volgare) / 77 (engl. tr.) has the wrong date (19th May).

recounted³⁷, the great flight to Cyprus³⁸, and the terrible fate of those left behind³⁹. Only very few chroniclers commented on the fall of Acre, and those that did interpreted the expulsion of the Franks as Divine judgment.⁴⁰ The Venetian chroniclers, however, remain silent concerning the conduct of those Venetians in Acre during the siege. Indirect evidence of wealthy Venetian merchants and their families escaping Acre and subsequently moving back to Venice may be found in some commercial documents and the 14th-century *Libri Commemorati*⁴¹ as well as in 14th- and 15th-century genealogical lists, recording the names of those families belonging to the Great Council. These include, since the early 14th century, the names: Bandomier, Benedetti, Barisan, Boninsegna, Lion, Marmora, and Polini.⁴² And the list becomes even longer in the 15th century, now including the families: Alberti, Molin dal Molin d'Oro, Foscolo, and Suriani as well.⁴³ The ancestors of these families were expatriates

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- 37 Apparently the Mamluks did not destroy the mosque(s) existing in Acre at that time: *Venetiarum historia* (see above, n. 34), 196: "Acon ... exceptis moschedis fecit funditus ruinari"; Anon., *Cronaca 'A Latina'* (see above, n. 34), 142: "eam tradidit in ruinam et non dimisit domum aliquam vel ecclesiam nec monasterium nisi quandam moschedam."
- 38 Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber* (see above, n. 3) 3.12.22, 232; *Venetiarum historia* (see above, n. 3), 196.
- 39 Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber* (see above, n. 3) 3.12.22, 232; *Venetiarum historia* (see above, n. 34), 196; Anon., *Cronaca 'A Latina'* (see above, n. 34), 142; *The Morosini Codex* (see above, n. 36), 76.
- 40 It is out of question that the Venetian sources are based on *Excidium Aconis* II (see above, n. 18), chap. 13, 93–96, and the *Ystoria de desolatione* (see above, n. 18), 150–54. See Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber* 3.12, 21–22, 230–32; *Venetiarum historia*, 195–96.
- 41 See Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Libri Commemorati*, reg. 2, fol. 144r–v; D. Jacoby, 'L'expansion occidentale dans le Levant: les Vénitiens à Acre dans la seconde moitié du treizième siècle,' *Journal of Medieval History* 3 (1977), 225–264, at 243, 244, 245.
- 42 14th century: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS Ambr. H 85 inf., fol. 8v; see R. Pesce, Introduction to his edition of *Cronica di Venexia detta di Enrico Dandolo* (see above, n. 34), XIX; Antonio Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XII–XVI). Con un'appendice di R.-J. Loenertz, Classificazione delle cronache venete*, Civiltà veneziana. Studi 25 (Florence, 1969), 53; *Proles nobilium Venetorum*, ed. Cessi, in *Venetiarum historia* (see above, n. 34), 255–276, at 273. Nicolò Trevisan (d. 1369), *Cronaca Veneta*, Venice, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana (below: BNM), MS It. VII, 519 (8438), fol. 88v. See also S. Chojnacki, 'La formazione della nobiltà dopo la Serrata,' in *Storia di Venezia dalle origini fino alla caduta delle Serenissima*, vol. 3 (*La formazione dello stato patrizio*), ed. G. Arnaldi, G. Cracco and A. Tenenti (Rome, 1997), 641–725, at 648, 657, 662–664, 665; F.C. Lane, 'The Enlargement, of the Great Council of Venice,' in: *Florilegium Historiale: Essays Presented to Wallace K. Ferguson*, ed. J.G. Rowe and W.H. Stockdale (Toronto, 1971), 236–274, at 237–238, 261 n. 2.
- 43 15th/16th century: see the list of Venetian *caxate* (= *casate*) transmitted in Venice, BNM, MS It. VII, 2034 (8834), fols. 49r–81r, at fols. 51r, 51v, 52v, 54r, 54v, 66v, 67v. Giorgio Dolfin

returning from Acre some of whom did not receive Venetian citizenship, a prerequisite for admittance to the Great Council, until after resettling to the lagoon and rising up in the political hierarchy.⁴⁴

The fall of Acre is portrayed quite differently in the city chronicles written after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople on 29 May 1453. The Republic of Venice, hastily seeking reconciliation with the Ottoman Empire to protect its commercial interests⁴⁵, soon became the focus of fierce public rebuke. All across Europe, the Venetians were accused of collaborating with the Muslims.⁴⁶ Even the Church did not hold back. One of the most prominent critics was Pope Pius II (1458–1464), who accused Venetian merchants of telling lies and denounced the blatant Venetian mercantilism dominating the Republic's political policy.⁴⁷

In this difficult situation, the Venetian government commissioned the humanist Flavio Biondo, citizen of Venice since 1424⁴⁸, to write a history of the Republic. Biondo had just completed a *History of Europe* (*Historiarum ... Decades*) in 1453, which focused on the Mediterranean region and, within this

probably used this list: *Cronaca dela nobil cità de Venetia et la sua Provintia et Destreto di Giorgio Dolfin* (1396–1458), ed. A. Carracciolo Aricò and C. Frison, 1 (Venice, 2007), 266; G. Dolfin's note was not only adopted by the anonymous author whose (lost) *Cronaca Veneta* was copied by Gasparo Zancaruolo (1484–1524) – the so-called *Cronaca Zancaruola*, (Venice, BNM, MS It. VII, 49 [9274], fol. CCXXXVIII v) – but also by Andrea Navagero the Elder (*1427), *Historia Veneta italico sermone scripta ab origine urbis usque ad a. 1498*, in RIS 23, col. 1007 – and Marino Sanudo, *Vite de' Dogi*, 2 vols. (autograph), Venice, BNM, MSS It. VII, 800–801 [7151–52], at MS It. VII, 800, fol. 135r; cf. id., *Vite*, ed. L.A. Muratori in RIS 22 (Milano, 1733), col. 578. Muratori's edition of Sanudo's *Vite* in RIS 22 didn't consider the autograph at all.

44 See Carracciolo Aricò (see above, n. 43), 36, and Frison, *ibid.*, 166 n. b.

45 D.A. Zakythinos, 'L'attitude de Venise face au déclin et à la chute de Constantinople,' in *Venezia Centro di Mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV–XVI). Aspetti e Problemi*, ed. H.-G. Beck, M. Manoussacas, A. Pertusi, 1 (Florence, 1977), 61–76; G. Gullino, 'Le frontiere navali,' in *Storia di Venezia*, 4 (*Il rinascimento – politica e cultura*), ed. A. Tenenti and U. Tucci (Rome, 1996), 13–111, at 56–105, 108–111.

46 See, for instance, A. Crantz, *Wandalia* (Cologne, 1519).

47 Pius II accused all Venetians of being mendacious: *Pii II Commentarii rerum memorabilium que temporibus suis contigerunt*, ed. Adrian van Heck, vol. 2, *Studi e testi* 313 (Città del Vaticano, 1984), 11.16; 12. 8, 688–90, 730–31.

48 For Flavio Biondo's life and works, see R. Fubini, 'Biondo, Flavio,' in *DBI*, 10 (Rome, 1968), 536–38; Marco Foscarini, *Della letteratura veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa. Con aggiunte inedite dedicata al principe Andrea Giovanelli* (Venice, 1854), 151 n. 1; 247 n. 3; 248 n. 1, n. 3.

context, included Venice.⁴⁹ This author now composed a commissioned work glorifying Venice's rise, portraying only the time up to the fall of Acre in 1291, and containing just a brief survey of the subsequent centuries.⁵⁰ He had studied Jacobus de Varagine's interpretation of Genoese tradition⁵¹ but this chronicle stopped before 1291. Biondo incorporated, therefore, his own portrayal of the fall of Acre from his *Decades*.⁵² The picture manifesting itself here of Venice's engagement in the Crusades and of the Venetians' position in the city of Acre, according to Biondo conquered jointly by Venice and Genoa⁵³, deviates considerably from those of older Venetian chronicles. Biondo also states that before the outbreak of the war of San Sabas Venice claimed an entire third of Acre for itself, according to the provisions of its treaty with king Baldwin II of Jerusalem (1118–1131).⁵⁴

Only a few decades later, Biondo's account of the events in Acre in the spring of 1291 provided the foundation for Marcantonio Sabellico's history of Venice up to 1487.⁵⁵ The humanist and teacher of rhetoric in Udine (d. 1506) presented this work to the Serenissima as a gift.⁵⁶ Its content and orientation were exactly

49 Flavio Biondo, *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum decades IIII (libri XXXI)* 2.6, (Basel, 1559), 269–71 remembered the Fourth Crusade and its importance for Venice.

50 Id., *Breviarium de urbis Venetae origine et gestis rebus* (accomplished in 1454) (*incunabulum* Verona, 1481). In the following I'll refer to the 16th century edition: Id., *De origine et gestis Venetorum ad Franciscum Foscari ducem inclitumque senatum, caeterosque reip. Venetae patricios*, in id., *De Roma triumphante, De Origine et gestis...*, *De Italia Illustrata* (Basel, 1559), 273–93.

51 Jacobus de Varagine, *Chronica civitatis Januensis: Jacopo da Varagine e la sua Cronaca di Genova dalle origini al MCCXCVII*, ed. G. Monleone, 3 vols., *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* 85, vol. 2 (Cronaca) (Rome, 1941).

52 Biondo, *Historiarum ... Decades* (see above, n. 49) 2.8, 330–32.

53 Id., *De origine* (see above, n. 50), 278.

54 Ibid., 286.

55 For his life and works, see F. Tateo, 'Coccio, Marcantonio, detto Marcantonio Sabellico,' in DBI, 26 (Rome, 1982), 510–15; F. Gilbert, 'Biondo, Sabellico, and the beginnings of Venetian official historiography,' in *Florilegium Historiale* (see above, n. 42), 275–93; G. Cozzi, 'Cultura politica e religione nella pubblica storiografia veneziana nel '500,' *Studi Veneziani* 5/6 (1963/64), 215–94, at 219–22; Foscari, *Della letteratura veneziana* (see above, n. 48), 250–52.

56 Marcus Antonius (Coccius) Sabellicus, *In tris & triginta suos rerum Venetarum libros epitome (incunabulum* Venice, 1487 *die madii xxi*), 240 fols. Later editions appeared in Basel (1556, 1670) and Venice (1718): *Istorie veneziane latinamente scritte, aggiuntavi la vita dell'autore, la cronologia esatta nel margine, e indici copiosi, Istorici delle cose veneziane i quali hanno scritto per pubblico decreto, cioè Marcantonio Sabellico, Pietro Bembo, Paolo Paruta, Andrea Morosini, Batista Nani, Michele Foscari* 1 (Venice, 1718). Quotations from this chronicle are due to the edition published in 1718.

to the taste of the Venetian government, and Sabellico was rewarded with a position as teacher for rhetoric and poetry at the San Marco school of rhetoric, founded 1460, with a yearly salary of 200 gulden (florins). Sabellico's account remained the only semi-official version of early Venetian history; by the beginning of the 16th century it was translated into the vernacular and it was published in numerous new editions in subsequent centuries.⁵⁷ Biondo's representation of the history of Venetian expansion, the Serenissima's and the Venetians' dedicated engagement in the war against the Muslims since the First Crusade – the essential features of which Flavio Biondo had conceived – Sabellico drastically altered to throw a more favorable light on the Venetians. It shaped the viewpoint of the Venetian public up until the Serenissima's fall at the end of the 18th century. Sabellico depicts Venice as a power that actively promoted the crusades.⁵⁸ He portrays the Venetians as protagonists in the final negotiations for a two-year truce after the fall of Tripoli (1289).⁵⁹ And he remembers the Venetians' substantial role in the defense of Acre against the Mamelukes in the spring of 1291. Initially, Acre's defense was provided solely by the Venetians ("Venetorum opera") and by crusaders transported to Acre on a Venetian fleet. However, the Venetians and crusaders, dispatched to Syria by the Pope, could not hold on to Acre forever.⁶⁰

57 Translations into the vernacular were published only in Venice: Marco Antonio Sabellico, *Chroniche che tractano de la origine de Veneti, e del principio de la cita, e de tutte le guere da mare e terra facte in Italia: Dalmacia: Grecia: e contra tutti li infideli*, trans. Matheo Vesconte de Sancto Canciano (Venice, [s.a.] c.1507); id., *Le historie vinitiane... divise in tre deche con tre libri della quarta deca*, tr. Lodovico Dolce (Venice, 1544); id., *Le historie vinitiane* (Venice, 1554); id., *Dell' historia vinitiana libri xxxiii con la giunta de gli epitomi di nuouo tradotti dal latino, et molte altre cose, che nell' vltima stampa mancauano. Con la tavola delle cose notabili* (Venice, 1558); id., *Dell' historia venetiana ... libri 33. Con la giunta de gli epitomi di nuouo tradotti dal latino, et molte altre cose, che nell' vltima stampa mancauano. Con la tauola delle cose notabili* (Venice, 1668); id., *Istorie veneziane ... tradotte in lingua italiana*, ed. Antonio Savioli, 2 vols. (Venice, 1747).

58 Sabellico, *Istorie* (see above, n. 56) I. 5–6, 8, 10, 112, 123–24, 130–38, 169, 171–85, 191–92, 240–41.

59 Ibid., 1.10, 240: "In Syria autem Veneti qui Ptolemaidam tenebant, cum Babylonio Rege inducias in biennium pepigere." See also Marino Sanudo, *Vite* (see above, n. 43), at Venice, BNM, MS It. VII, 800 [7151], fol. 133v: "faceddo triuea con detto soldano per do anni."

60 Ibid., 240–41: "induciarum namque tempore exacto, Babylonius Rex, qui quam segniter omnia in Europa fierent, non ignorabat, misso cum ingenti exercitu filio, Ptolemaidem subito obsidione cingit, cinctam gravi aggreditur opugnatione: aliquandiu Venetorum opera Pontificioque praesidio defensa civitas. Inde cessantibus ex Europa auxiliis, quibus mare patuit ad effugium, paulatim dilapsi: urbs demum cum paucis capta, primo direpta

For the dispersion of this perception beyond scholarly circles, however, another Venetian chronicle, compiled by Marino Sanudo the Younger from biographies of the doges only a few decades later than Sabellico, was perhaps of similar or even greater influence.⁶¹ Sabellico's history was one of the major sources Sanudo consulted for his lives of the doges, written in the vernacular. Sanudo, however, emphasizes Venice's preeminence in Acre even more than Sabellico. In Sanudo's account, the *Serenissima* has sole rule over Acre⁶², he remembers the Venetians' heroic participation in the defence of Tripoli (1289) when they killed many assailants⁶³ and the *Serenissima's* willingness to break, by request of the pope, the (two-year) truce with the sultan of Egypt. Sanudo presents Venice as being even more emphatically loyal to the papacy and the church, and fervently in support of the Crusades, than Sabellico had. He emphasizes the heroic valor of the Venetians, as well as the willingness of the Venetian state to make great material sacrifices in the face of the growing threat to Acre by the Mamelukes.

Unlike the chroniclers of the 14th century, Sabellico and Sanudo do not interpret the fall of Acre theologically. While Sabellico follows the pragmatic arguments put forth by Biondo, who attributed it to lack of reinforcements and too small numbers of defenders, Marino Sanudo resorts to patriotic polemics against the Genoese competition. It was entirely the conduct of the Genoese toward the Mameluke Empire that provoked the sultan to launch one last offensive against the Frankish holdings in Syria, Acre in particular.⁶⁴ Thus, the

est, inde a fundamentis eversa. Atque in hunc modum Christianum nomen est ex Syria sublatum."

- 61 Sanudo, *Vite* (see above, n. 43) at MS It.vii, 800, fols. 133v-134r; cf. RIS 22, cols. 576-78. On Sanudo's life and works, see Angela Caracciolo Aricò, in *Marino Sanudo il giovane, Le vite dei dogi (1474-1494)*, ed. ead., 1 (Padua, 1989), xi-Lxxx; G. Cozzi, 'Marin Sanudo il Giovane. Dalla cronica alla storia,' in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo xvi, Aspetti e problemi*, ed. A. Pertusi, *Civiltà veneziana*, saggi 18 (Firenze, 1970) 333-58; Carile, *Cronachistica* (see above, n. 42), 156-59.
- 62 Sanudo, *Vite* (see above, n. 43), at Venice, BNM, MS It. vii, 800, fols. 133v, 134r, 135r; cf. RIS 22, cols. 576-77.
- 63 Id. *Vite*, BNM, MS It. vii, 800, fol. 133v: "In questo anno fu preso la città di Tripoli per il soldan del Kayro chiamato Chaleff. E tutti li Venitiani che in questa fono ... furono morti per la difesa che havonno facto morto assaissimi mori."
- 64 Biondo, *Historiarum ... Decades* (see above, n. 49) 2.8, 330, 332. Id., *De origine* (see above, n. 50), 291. Sabellico, *Istorie* (see above, n. 56) 1.10, 240-41; Sanudo, *Vite* (see above, n. 43), at Venice, BNM, MS It. vii, 800 [7151], fol. 133v; RIS 22, col. 578.

naval war against Genoa that ensued after the fall of Acre was the Venetians' revenge for this act of treachery.

In conclusion, let me summarize: The chroniclers of the maritime republics never perceived it as their duty to write detailed and truthful accounts of their ancestors' conduct in the defense of Acre, unless it could be exploited to promote the glory of their cities. In the case of Genoa and Pisa, memory of the fall of Acre had already begun to fade in the course of the 14th century. Renewed interest in the early periods of the histories of these cities did not emerge until the 16th century. In the case of Venice, on the other hand, public recollection of the city's past and appreciation of its citizen's achievements already gained great political significance shortly after the middle of the 15th century, influenced by the fall of Constantinople and the widespread condemnation of the Venetian government. The Genoese chronicler Agostino Giustiniani wrote in his letter of dedication, dated 10 August 1435 (the day of Genoa's patron, St. Laurent), that it was his intention in these Annals donated by him to the republic of Genoa, not only to record and acknowledge the glorious deeds of the ancestors, but to commemorate their inglorious acts as well ("lodeuoli & non lodeuoli fatti di nostri antichi ... puramente in questi libri sono espressi").⁶⁵ Up until the mid-15th century, Venetian chroniclers, with their occasional references to Venetian relations with Muslim empires⁶⁶, may have thought similarly whereas Giustiniani's contemporaries in Venice, Marcantonio Sabellico and Marino Sanudo the Younger, thought quite differently. They did not remain silent, but instead conceived a positive image of the Venetians' conduct in Acre and the circumstances of the city's fall. They fabricated a truth glorifying the Republic, and thus provided a reservoir of rationalizations useful not only for convincing the Venetian citizenship, but for countering external criticism as well.

Well-informed critical contemporaries of Sabellico and Sanudo were not deceived by this strategy: "ea, que superbo populo ad ignominiam sunt, silentio pretereunt damnantque fastis. Nam omnia aut in gloriam suam obvertunt, et si non possunt, iubent silentio premi" ("Everything detrimental to the

65 See Giustiniani, *Castigatissimi annali* (see above, n. 6) who wrote in his letter of dedication "Et veramente ch hara risguardo a i lodeuoli & non lodeuoli fatti di nostri antichi, i quali senza alcuna adulatione puramente in questi libri sono espressi sapera, si come gia disse il Propheta del Messia, riprouar il male & legere il bene." Cf. *Annali*, ed. Spotorno (see above, n. 6), 1:5–8, at 7.

66 *Venetiarum historia* (see above, n. 34), 180 (Egypt), 182 (Tunis); *Cronica di Venexia detta di Enrico Dandolo* (see above, n. 34), 84, 123, 125 (Egypt); 97, 99 (Tunis).

reputation of this arrogant people the Venetian annals pass over in silence”), wrote Albert Krantz, humanist and lawyer born in Hamburg, who had studied in Italy and was well familiar with Flavio Biondo’s works.⁶⁷ His assertion is especially valid for Venice, but not exclusively.

67 A. (Krantz), *Wandalia* (Cologne, 1519), 9.7. On his life and works, see Ulrich Andermann, *Albert Krantz. Wissenschaft und Historiographie*, Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte 38 (Weimar, 1999); M. Grobecker, ‘Albert Krantz. Geistlicher, Gelehrter, han-sischer Syndikus (1448–1517),’ in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 12 (Berlin, 1980) 673–74; id., *Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung des Albert Krantz*, phil. Diss., University of Hamburg (Hamburg, 1964).

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